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NATO Reluctance on Disarmament Criticized

AU1907073289 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 17 Jul 89 p 2

[Wolfgang Georgi commentary: "NATO and Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Text] By accepting the U.S. proposal to carry out test inspections for the verification of strategic nuclear weapons before a treaty for their reduction is signed, the Soviet Union has once again proved its flexibility concerning questions of nuclear disarmament. At the same time, this move has probably overcome an obstacle at the Geneva negotiations on halving strategic offensive weapons, since the United States made the result dependent on the issue of verification.

Already at the Reykjavik summit in October 1986 a basic agreement between the USSR and the United States on the need for such a reduction was achieved. It would comprise land-based missiles with a range of more than 5,500 km, submarine-based longer-range missiles, and long-distance bombers, that is, weapons systems, which constitute nine-tenths of the two states' destructive nuclear potential. Halving this potential would mean making life on earth safer.

This goal is served by a number of proposals submitted to NATO by the Warsaw Pact states. They range from Mikhail Gorbachev's detailed plan to completely free the world from nuclear weapons by the year 2000 to negotiations on the radical reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe, to the suggestion to discuss the military doctrines of the two camps in a new spirit that would promote peace. The seriousness of these offers has been underpinned by numerous unilateral advance moves.

Regardless of the will of their peoples, influential NATO circles continue to adhere to their policy of strength and the strategy of nuclear deterrence—as can be seen from recent statements. The most important component in this respect are the U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe. In particular the short-range missiles deployed in the FRG are to be brought up to a range of slightly below 500 km through "modernization."

Obviously, NATO intends to preserve at all costs—and be it at the cost of destroying mankind—its nuclear first-strike ability and its ability to wage a nuclear war of aggression. Therefore, NATO Secretary General Woerner is not willing to consider "under any circumstances" the prospect of a Europe without nuclear weapons and therefore a third zero-option is categorically rejected.

Therefore, NATO also refuses to conduct negotiations on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons parallel to the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and armaments. It wants to discuss this issue only after results have been achieved in Vienna. Warsaw Pact proposals for radical conventional disarmament have been on the table there for months—NATO has promised a response to these proposals for "autumn at the earliest." Experience shows that a response does not itself constitute a solution, but it is a precondition for finding a solution. And those who delay fulfilling this precondition must accept being asked whether they are seriously interested in a solution. It remains to be seen whether the NATO proposal, which has now been presented in Vienna, is conducive to advancing the negotiations.

The Soviet-U.S. treaty of December 1987 on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe proved that substantive progress is possible on the path of nuclear disarmament whatever profound differences there might be. It was a first step toward a world without a nuclear threat—it is high time for other steps to follow. Because "the elimination of the danger of a nuclear and conventional war and the consolidation of international security are objectively necessary preconditions for the survival and progress of mankind," as the Bucharest statement of the Warsaw Pact states says. "Proceeding from this, the Warsaw Pact states consider the halting of the arms race and disarmament to be the main task of the present."

Bucharest Warsaw Pact Session Examined

AU1807173489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Jul 89 p 4

[Sokol Gjoka article: "Soviet Goals and the Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] A meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee concluded 2 days ago in Bucharest. As was pointed out by the news agencies, this was considered to be one of the most important meetings because of the tensions observed recently within the alliance. The seven leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries signed a declaration at the conclusion of the meeting, through which they replied to the proposals made by U.S. President Bush at the NATO summit held toward the end of May, calling for a 20 percent cut in American and Soviet conventional arms in Europe, a reduction of their troops down to a limit of 275,000, and, following a possible agreement on these problems, the possibility of considering the reducing of short-range missiles on the old continent.

However, despite numerous proposals and declarations about disarmament, the fact remains that a mutual spirit of mistrust continues to exist between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, each side seeking to secure an advantage over the other. In the final declaration of the Bucharest meeting, the Warsaw Pact leaders called on NATO to present concrete proposals concerning a reduction of conventional arms at the Vienna conference. Meanwhile, they expressed their "concern" in connection with NATO's plans for the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. Under present conditions, the Warsaw Pact countries are more predisposed than the NATO countries to make reductions in the military field because of the economic reforms being carried out in their countries. Under these circumstances, the Warsaw Pact countries need to free large sums, which can only come from a reduction in military expenditure. The Soviet Union is seeking to benefit from this difficult situation in the alliance. The great difficulties encountered by perestroyka dictate the need to find large financial resources and these can be found in the field of reducing arms expenditure. Through its proposals for partial reductions of troops and armaments, the Soviet Union is seeking to lighten its military commitment within the bloc, which represents a heavy burden on its economy, at the same time maintaining and strengthening its leading role within the Warsaw Pact. In the name of the alliance, Moscow is thus seeking to lead the current Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons, with which the short-range nuclear missile question is also linked.

There have been reports that the Warsaw Pact summit took place in an atmosphere of contradictions and disagreements. In the speech he delivered at a dinner marking the conclusion of the meeting, Gorbachev himself called on the allied countries to leave aside their disagreements. The Soviet leader tried to preserve the "unity" of the alliance by declaring that "each country and each party in East Europe can follow its own road toward democracy." The Soviet leader declared his support for a broader economic cooperation between the Warsaw Pact countries, on the one hand, and the West on the other. He did this at a time when Moscow is concluding important economic agreements with various European countries. There are currently about 900 joint enterprises with foreign capital in the Soviet Union. At the Bucharest meeting itself, contradictory opinions were also voiced with regard to the major problems pertaining to East-West relations. The question of the way in which the Warsaw Pact countries build their relations with the West has always been a matter of controversy between the Soviet Union, which is seeking to control these relations on the one hand, and the other Warsaw Pact members, who want to escape this control, on the other. Last Sunday, President Bush began a visit to Poland and will then go on to Hungary. Moscow has not opposed this visit, although its interest in it is also obvious. The Warsaw Pact meeting showed the Soviet Union's interest in preserving its leading role in the alliance regardless of changing circumstances, regardless of whether steps are being undertaken in the direction of rearmament or whether proposals are made for disarmament.

Alia's 1988 Speeches Published in Book Form

AU1707185589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] A new book by Comrade Ramiz Alia, "Speeches and Discussions, 1988," has been published and put on sale. This volume includes selected materials from the period between January to December 1988, most of which are published for the first time. Among the most important of its contents are the speech at the fifth party Central Committee plenum: Socialist Culture—A Great Active Force for the Progress of the Homeland; the greeting to the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress: Cooperativism—A Source for the Increased Prosperity of Socialist Life; the speech at the Vlore District Party Committee plenum: Putting Cadres' Creative Potential and Moral Values Fully in the Service of Society; the speech: Honor to Enver Hoxha Is Honor to Socialism; and speeches made in Vlore, Diber, Berat, Lushnje, Korce, Sarande, and other districts. The speeches, discussions, and conversations include important analyses, ideas, and instructions for successfully coping with tasks, solving problems of the nation's socioeconomic development, and reinforcing the party's work and the militancy of communists and cadres by improving the quality and effectiveness of their activity.

U.S. Attitude to East European Reforms Assessed

AU1807103889 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 17 Jul 89 p 4

[Yavor Tsakov article: "In a Calculated Manner"]

[Text] "Washington is playing in a calculated manner,"—I very much liked this conclusion of the French newspaper FIGARO when I was reading the assessments and analyses of George Bush's visit to Poland and Hungary that has just ended. What calculations are meant precisely now, when the countries in East and West are declaring their readiness for more understanding, which is being incorporated in the emerging construction of the all-European home?

Let us begin with the money needed by the two countries to activate their economies and pay back the debts that have accumulated over the years and which must now be paid off. Undoubtedly, from this point of view Warsaw and Budapest anticipated Bush's visit with certain hopes, because the United States itself can help, and it can also prompt others to do the same. In Poland they remembered the words the President included in his Detroit speech 3 months ago—namely, that the economic assistance that is offered by the United States will certainly be attached to "sound economic practice" in the countries that receive it. Plainly speaking, in this respect the calculation involved the obligatory "liberalization of the economy," with its being directed toward the market and private initiatives, in exchange for financial assistance.

In the spirit of the profound economic and political reforms that have been carried out, Poland and Hungary did much to reorient their economies toward the law of the "pure economy." However, despite this President Bush undermined the faith of those in Warsaw who thought that he would hand his Polish hosts the key of the fireproof safe where the billions of dollars Poland needs to carry out the economic reform and overcome the crisis are stored. Lech Walesa, "Solidarity" leader, was also among those disappointed by "Washington's cautious attitude." While the Poles were certainly pleased that the American guests greeted them so cordially, many of them expected more than compliments. During his visit George Bush gained direct impressions of the essence and character of the reforms that are being carried out in Poland and Hungary. Perhaps a part of his initial information contradicted the reality as presented by his advisors. At a time like the present, when the socialist countries are selecting independent roads for their development, without reverence for a single model or personality, different interpretations are possible. However, along with the subjectivism, politics also contains new mythological notions, which the other side might try to view as the existing reality.

In this context the caution of the American Administration toward the reforms in socialist Europe was probably the result of not understanding the processes that are taking place in it, or the reluctance to form a conclusive attitude toward them. I am convinced that even now U.S. political life contains arguments about a differentiated attitude toward the socialist countries, something which is partly expressed in greater interest toward some of them and less interest toward others. However, at the same time, the U.S. intention to link its financial assistance or economic privileges with the desired political results seems to be a remnant of earlier political seasons. Thus, despite the fact that President Bush learned in Budapest that the economic reform does not mean the introduction of capitalism in Hungary, and in Warsaw that the USSR remains not only the guarantor of the Polish borders but also Poland's closest ally and partner, no change in policy was made during those several days.

It is not only Poland and Hungary that now understand that one must not expect from the United States more than the United States can give to the rest of the world and the Europeans in particular. Various winds are now blowing around the White House that also remind one of the pathological hatred for socialism and the traditional suspicion toward everything "on the other side of the curtain." "Bush is now in Budapest, where he will tell the students how much he would like to export capitalism of the Western type," THE GUARDIAN English newspaper wrote this week. "How strange it is that while the head of a Western state is beating the ideological drum, Mikhail Gorbachev and some other leaders of the socialist countries are playing their music in a far more practical reality."

Beglov Views Positive East-West Developments

AU1707145489 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 15 Jul 89 pp 1,4

["Dispatch" by Spartak Beglov, NOVOSTI political observer: "Reason Against the Old Dogmas"]

[Text] Moscow, 14 July (dispatch for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME)—Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the FRG and France has been followed by the visit of President George Bush to Poland and Hungary. The top leaders of the seven Warsaw Pact states very recently conferred in Bucharest, and now the capitalist "Seven"—the leaders of the industrially most developed Western countries—are discussing their relations with the socialist East and the developing South in Paris.

Despite the fact that the diplomatic timetable brought these events together quite by chance, a certain symmetry is evident. Each side is reacting in an effective way to the political initiatives of the other side and is seeking the best solutions for the problems that worry all parts of the world.

The present time of profound social changes and the new extent of the dangers hanging over mankind cast doubt on the old dogmas and demand new solutions in the spirit of common sense.

Let us take, for example, the dogma that the East and the West are doomed to confrontation because of their opposing ideologies, and that, accordingly, arms and the politics of force and military blocs will play a deciding role in their relations. At the jubilee NATO summit at the end of May, the first important step away from this dogma was made. As a result of this, the Vienna talks on reducing conventional arms and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals received a good stimulus.

In the meantime, the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee confirmed the East's readiness to dissolve the opposing military organizations. However, they had actually declared their readiness for this earlier. The new element in the latest Warsaw Pact postulates is primarily that the alliance is orienting itself toward changing from a military-political into a political-military organization. Furthermore, while proposing cooperation primarily as a political partner (instead of a military rival), the alliance of the socialist countries is supporting this change with the internal process of renewing the social and political structures of its member countries.

The visit by George Bush to Poland and Hungary, as well as the principled statements made by the FRG and French leaders at their earlier meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev, provide clear evidence that the West does not want to let slip any of the opportunities that have opened up for political cooperation, both with the East as a whole, and with each socialist country individually.

Of course, certain nuances can be noticed. For example, Washington would like to conduct a kind of "selective policy" of giving measured encouragement to some countries, while keeping other countries at a certain distance, operating with the American standards for "democracy," "progress," and so on.

The problem of the developing countries' foreign debts occupies a major place on the agenda of the Paris meeting of the "seven." This point at issue is not only how much the developing South owes to the capitalist North. This burden has become truly intolerable, and the trap is closing even more tightly. The question is: When will the West begin to admit its responsibility (both moral and material) for these debts? Surely the former colonies in their time furthered the advance of the capitalist world through their own resources. The USSR supports the declaration of a long-term moratorium (of up to 100 years) on debt repayments by the least developed countries, or even the complete cancellation of their debts.

It seems that some progress can be noted at the current meeting in Paris. For the first time, the meeting features recommendations that Western national and international financial institutions should start working out specific measures to lighten the South's foreign debts. However, this is merely a first attempt to come to grips with the problem. From now on, the leaders of world capitalism have to fully realize the seriousness of the threat of destabilization of the entire world economy, unless the Gordian knot of the debts is either unraveled or cut, as the Soviet Union proposes.

Editorial Analyzes Gorbachev's Leningrad Speech

AU1807123389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jul 89 p 4

[Editorial article: "New Image and Dynamics of Socialism"]

[Text] "We must preserve the firmness of the spirit, endurance, and realism in assessing perestroyka, and in the forecasts about the future,"—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet made this appeal twice at his speech at the plenum of the CPSU Leningrad Oblast Committee.

This could be explained by the fact that the party and the country, as the Soviet leader pointed out, are experiencing perhaps one of the most complicated periods of their history, when revolutionary perestroyka permeates the deep layers of society and affects the interests of all groups of the population. Now it entered the second main stage—the stage of implementing the concepts worked out by the CPSU. They are characterized not by a superficial work or cosmetic measures, but by profound and revolutionary transformations, which inevitably will be accompanied by difficulties, contradicting emotions, and a clash of social interests. The new stage is characterized by finally relinquishing the administrative-edict methods of management, the dictate "from the top," the mixing and duplicating of state, economic, administrative, and public organs, and the alienation of man from the property, government, and culture.

Neither the visit nor speech of the first Soviet leader in Leningrad were accidental. As is known, after the election for the Congress of People's Deputies, when many figures of the Leningrad Oblast party organization—led by the former first secretary of the oblast party organization - did not receive the confidence of the voters the appropriate cadre changes were conducted in the leading party organs. This occasion was utilized by the Soviet leader to appeal for drawing the necessary lessons. According to him, overcoming the deformations, that had been allowed in the past, must be accompanied by restoring real values of socialism, humanizing and democratizing social relations, ascending man, and increasing social security and justice.

Along with this, Mikhail Gorbachev warned that the deeply rooted tendency of leveling must decisively be overcome. Society, "as if pressed and leveled by an iron," is a society without future. It has no prospects in anything related to production and its main index—the growth of labor productivity. The divorce from such phenomena, characteristic of the administrative-edict style of management, and the creation of new forms of social life and functioning, determines the transitional

character of the stage, that the Soviet country is experiencing now. Those stages are the most difficult ones in every revolutionary transformation, because the phenomena and processes that emerge are being interpreted in a different manner by the different social strata. In addition, mistrust and confusion often appear, as well as concern about losing the achievements. Precisely because of this the Soviet leader said:

"I again will stress: We must preserve the firmness of the spirit, endurance, and, realism in assessing what is happening, and forecasting the policy and practical steps related to developing perestroyka through consecutively achieving the goals of the economic and political reform, strengthening and deepening the democratic transformations under conditions of glasnost, and forming the law-governed state."

The CPSU is an inspired organizer of the profound social transformations, which encompass all social spheres and strata. Its role as a political vanguard and powerful driving force of perestroyka is recognized by all. Nevertheless, certain phenomena and manifestations are evident, which, according to the Soviet leader, show that in the process of restructuring the party itself is lagging behind the processes that have developed in society. Therefore, reconciling party activity with the state of society is a cardinal issue for the fate of the country. The close and inextricable relation with the working people is the main factor in this activity.

In his speech the Soviet leader expressed his firm conviction that the party and Soviet society will implement the order of history, and that by implementing the socialist ideals they will reveal the potential of the new system and will give socialism a new image and dynamism.

Hungary's Gyula Horn Arrives on Working Visit

Mladenov, Horn Hold Talks

AU1707183889 Sofia BTA in English 1638 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The restructuring in Bulgaria and Hungary, the bilateral relations and questions of the international situation were discussed today at the talks between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria Mr Petur Mladenov and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary Mr Gyula Horn, who is on a friendly working visit to this country.

In the spirit of sincerity and mutual interest they informed each other of the processes of restructuring and democratization underway in Bulgaria and Hungary oriented toward radical change and innovation of the socialist society, raising of the people's well-being, improvement of the quality of life and strengthening of citizens' legal guarantees. The two sides exchanged opinions on the resolution of the current problems of socialist construction, on the prospects of socialism. It was pointed out that it is a large-scale and creative process carried out in each country in accordance with its conditions, traditions, needs and in compliance with the universal human values.

The two ministers noted the importance for the development of the Bulgaro-Hungarian relations of the active contacts between the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, between the state and public bodies and organizations, in the sphere of science and culture. They stressed the favourable historical tradition of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples.

Assessing the state of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Gyula Horn pointed out the need of studying each other's experience, of activating the economic relations through application of more modern and efficient forms and mechanisms. Bulgaria and Hungary expect that the economic reforms underway in both countries will create more favourable conditions for development of the bilateral relations on the base of mutual interest, for radical restructuring of the mechanism of cooperation in the CMEA. The two ministers stressed the need of improvement of the interaction in the sphere of information, tourism, human contacts and other spheres.

It was ascertained with satisfaction that as a result of the active foreign policy of the socialist countries based on the new political thinking positive changes have occurred in the international relations. The constructive peace initiatives of the USSR and the socialist countries and the partnership approach of the realistically thinking circles in the West contributed to the decrease of tension and confrontation, for raising of the confidence, for development of the political dialogue, for broadening of the cooperation in the economic and techno-scientific sphere, in the sphere of human rights. On this base ever more clearly is outlined the concept of the common European house excluding the very possibility for a confrontation or use of force.

Referring to the advance achieved at the Vienna talks Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Gyula Horn agreed with the assessment that they open a new stage in principle in the process of arms reduction.

At the same time the two ministers expressed concern over the continuing attempts to rely on force factors in politics, through plans for militarization of space, increase and updating of armaments, through unwillingness to reject the strategy of nuclear deterrence. The practice of interference in the internal affairs of other states and the attempts for their stabilization is continuing in international life.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Gyula Horn confirmed the resoluteness of Bulgaria and Hungary, in the spirit of the declaration adopted at the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member

states in Bucharest, to give their contribution to the implementation of the coordinated foreign policy line, for healing of the international situation on democratic principles, to the building of a stable and secure Europe—free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

The two ministers expressed the readiness of their countries to continue to cooperate actively on bilateral and multilateral base for the resolution of the problems of environment preservation, for successful holding of the ecological forum of the CSCE in Sofia in the autumn, this year.

The two ministers discussed other questions of mutual interest as well.

Atanasov Receives Horn

AU1707170789 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Minister, today received Mr Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs of Hungary.

The sides focused on bilateral economic cooperation, stressing that the processes of restructuring and renewal in the two countries open up favourable opportunities for its expansion and promotion. The sides acknowledged the need for more active direct contacts between production units, for the establishment of joint enterprises and science-and-industry associations, for a larger share in commercial exchanges of goods produced under specialization and cooperation agreements. New views and approaches are needed to utilize the ample tourist capabilities of Bulgaria and Hungary.

Particular attention was paid to the implementation of the decisions of the 43rd and the 44th CMEA sessions concerning fundamental changes in the mechanism of cooperation among the organization's member countries. The sides agreed that cooperation within the CMEA should be enhanced by using new forms.

Mladenov Gives Dinner for Horn

AU1707193389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] On 17 July Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, gave a dinner at the Lozenets Residence in honor of his Hungarian counterpart, Gyula Horn. The dinner was attended by Comrades Milko Balev and Andrey Lukanov, deputy ministers, and other officials.

The two ministers of foreign affairs proposed toasts to expanding relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples.

MTI Reports Horn Visit

LD1807060989 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—The delegations of the Hungarian and Bulgarian Foreign Ministries, headed by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and his Bulgarian counterpart, Petar Mladenov exchanged views on bilateral relations during their meeting held on Monday [17 July] in Sofia, focussing on political and economic cooperation. The politicians informed each other on the political and economic processes unfolding in their countries, and on various reform measures.

Surveying the situation of economic cooperation, the sides assessed achievements, while paying increasing attention to the problem of the Hungarian balance surplus of the past years. Possibilities of a solution were discussed and ways of fostering economic ties. Present problems in two-way tourism were also on the agenda.

In the afternoon a tete-a-tete discussion was held by Mr Horn and Mr Mladenov.

Subsequently, Mr Horn was received by Georgi Atanasov, Bulgarian prime minister.

Mr Mladenov hosted a gala dinner in honour of Mr Horn.

The Hungarian foreign minister is to travel to Varna on Tuesday, where he is scheduled to meet Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee president of the State Council. Afterwards he will be returning to Hungary by car via Yugoslavia

Zhivkov Receives Horn

AU1807142189 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 18 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today received Mr Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, who is paying a friendly working visit here. The meeting was attended by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

The Bulgarian leader was briefed on the talks between the two ministers. Mr Gyula Horn talked in detail about the results of the reform and renewal policy in Hungary which, while remaining on the positions of socialism, is seeking opportunities to realize its interests in a wider European and world context.

Mr Todor Zhivkov told his guest about the restructuring carried out under the guidance of the BCP in the spirit of the July Concept of the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria.

The sides ascertained that bilateral relations are being promoted on a steady and productive basis and that there are fine prospects for progress in the conditions of the new historical content of the present age.

The positive tendencies in international relations should be carried on and strengthened: That was the principal conclusion drawn in the discussion of topical world problems. The sides indicated the need for the conclusion of new arms control agreements so as to make the disarmament process continued and irreversible.

Concern was expressed at the talks over the ongoing practice of interference in the internal affairs of individual socialist countries and over the attempts to destabilize them. It was indicated that Bulgaria and Hungary are prepared to promote and extend their dialogue and constructive cooperation with all states for the sake of building peace and understanding and of promoting wide-ranging mutually advantageous contacts.

The results of the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty were highly commended as providing a fresh impetus to a continued process of disarmament and security building in Europe in the spirit of new political thinking.

Mr Todor Zhivkov gave a lunch for Mr Gyula Horn.

Horn Interviewed Before Departure

AU1807161289 Sofia BTA in English 1542 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 18 (BTA)—Asked by a BTA reporter about the most characteristic aspects of the talks he had had in Bulgaria, Mr Gyula Horn, Hungary's minister of foreign affairs, said before his departure that he had discussed substantive questions with the Bulgarian leaders. "The most important conclusion is that we have a lot in common in our views of the renewal of socialism. We are convinced that the old methods and approaches should be abandoned and new decisions should be sought."

"Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Georgi Atanasov showed the utmost of openness and constructiveness with respect to the further promotion of Bulgaro-Hungarian ties, and this is very important as far as we are concerned," Mr Gyula Horn emphasized.

Horn Sums Up Talks

LD1907033989 Budapest MTI in English 1928 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 18 (MTI)—An interview was given to MTI by Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, summing up his discussions in Bulgaria.

Mr Horn reported among other things that the Bulgarian side showed an extremely keen interest in developments in Hungary, primarily for the situation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers's Party [HSWP]. Questions were asked as to what HSWP intends to attain and the role it will take in the future. The Bulgarian partners also wanted to know how the party is able to fulfil the task of directing the reform processes and how this is received by society and population, and how the relevant measures taken can be brought in line with processes unfolding in the other socialist countries.

We shared the view that our political ties are developing very well and continuously. At the same time however we have problems, primarily in the field of economic cooperation. We are especially dissatisfied with the level of the goods exchange. For the 3d consecutive year Hungarian trade balance surplus has increased. We have seen only a few specific measures taken by the Bulgarian side aimed at substantially decreasing or phasing out this surplus. At present the trade surplus amounts to some 40 million roubles.

Specific attention was paid during the discussions to relations between the population of the two countries. In recent years services provided and accommodation made available to tourists have deteriorated. The Bulgarian side expressed its firm commitment to put forward its proposals in autumn to overcome the shortcomings.

In answer to the question whether similar criticism has been voiced by the Bulgarian side to those raised by officials of the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Romania, relating to the methods of attaining socialism in Hungary, Mr Horn replied:

Todor Zhivkov and other Bulgarian leaders stressed that these criticisms are nothing short of interfering with the country's internal affairs. The Bulgarian side also expressed its view that if anyone expresses concern over the events taking place in another country, then this could be reciprocal, because the criticised country can also find cause for concern in the country voicing the criticism.

I hold it very important that Todor Zhivkov had also formulated the Bulgarian position that experimenting with different means and ways in the present process of renewal is exclusively our own internal affair. Each socialist country sets out in this process through its own national characteristics and tradition. It cannot and should not be decided from the outside whether a national concept is correct or viable, Mr Horn concluded.

Horn: Bulgaria Admits Problems With Romania

LD1807221289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Following his talks in Sofia the Hungarian foreign minister has said that the Bulgarians have indicated that they, too, have problems with the Romanians. In his statement Gyula Horn also said that the changes in Hungary are not directed against any country, nor can they be viewed as a prescription for everyone. As Gyula Horn said after his talks in Bulgaria, and as he told his

Bulgarian hosts, Hungary wishes to take into account the processes developing in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It does not want to lecture anyone about what is correct in the renewal of socialism, nor does it accept lecturing from others.

Gyula Horn said that even if it were not a central topic, there was talk in his discussions in Sofia of the Hungarian-Romanian relationship, as well. It was indicated on the Bulgarian side that they, too, have problems with the Romanians. As regards bilateral relations, the Hungarian foreign minister said that there are no problems in the political sphere. However, the positive Hungarian trade balance which has lasted for years is a very serious obstacle to the development of economic cooperation.

The Bulgarian hosts showed very great interest in the Hungarian changes, and they were sincerely curious as to the manner in which political pluralism is being created. At the same time, they indicated that in Bulgaria a one-party system would remain and market conditions would be created. They asked that the Hungarian leadership, while seeking an independent path, should not forget about building relations with the other socialist countries, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn concluding.

Prudence Urged in Aiding Developing Countries
AU1807164489 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 29 17 Jul 89 p 9

[Article by Nikolay Todorov: "If You Have Two Robes"]

[Excerpts] In his desert uniform, the man had an authoritative bearing and an imposing appearance. His gold epaulets flashed in the African sun.

"Hello!" he greeted me, probably having seen the Bulgarian pin in my buttonhole. "How are you, what's new in Plovdiv?"

His remarkable Bulgarian and amusing familiarity confounded me. [passage omitted]

The news that he was a deputy prefect of the capital filled me with feelings of respect and pronounced curiosity.

"Where did you learn our language?" I responded.

"I studied in Plovdiv," the Army officer readily answered, "because I am a college graduate...."

"From the military academy?"

"No, I graduated from the Plovdiv Agricultural Academy, with the help of a Bulgarian grant." [passage omitted]

We parted on the best of terms, because the deputy prefect was very busy, promising to meet again, which did not in fact occur.

When I think back to this meeting, I always think not so much of that high Army officer with his flashing epaulets as of the unknown Bulgarian lad who was deprived of the opportunity to become an agricultural specialist. Was his sacrifice justified merely to enable a far-off African capital to acquire a deputy prefect who is able to express himself in Bulgarian street slang?

Internationalism is a sentiment that has always stirred me. The secret routes traversed by the Bulgarian Communists who set off for the distant front lines of Madrid and Teruel, the white Bulgarian shirts rotting in the red soil of Spain, the rallies of the Pernik miners in 1921 in support of their comrades in the Ruhr, the convoys that set sail to the Black Sea ports with food for the Volga region, the Bulgarian ships loaded with food and arms for Algeria and Vietnam—all this reflected lofty feelings of humanity and high revolutionary romanticism, and one could detect in it echoes of a dream, forged by suffering, of world revolution.

However, new times have arrived, times of coming down to earth with a bump, times of weighing the old truths that we thought were unshakable on a new balance. One began to hear voices saying that every people should resolve its own national and social problems by itself. Made wise by bitter experience, all peoples realized that the best aid is not old weapons, but a new example. [passage omitted]

I have seen freely donated Bulgarian machines lying forgotten in the coastal marshes of Indochina, and it made my heart sick. In the capital of Jordan people pointed out to me the trade union building, and told me with gratitude that it had been built with money from Bulgaria. I have had occasion to examine agreements with states from the so-called Third World that, in addition to deals based on the principles of mutual benefit, featured clauses concerning mutual aid which often involved many tonnes of goods that we had to import ourselves. [passage omitted]

In the era of self-financing and strict economic accountability, hundreds of students from various countries continue to attend our public schools and higher educational establishments with the help of Bulgarian grants. It is our timid hope that these students will help the prosperity of their own peoples and will always remain adherents of socialism and friends of Bulgaria. However, what situation they find when they return home and what paths they will follow there remain unfathomable secrets. Can we count on receiving sure dividends from such far from inconsiderable investments thrown into the dark of the unknown? [passage omitted]

In saying all this, I run the risk of accusations of national egoism and political narrow-mindedness, but these thoughts have engaged me for some time, and I feel a need to express them, because the new economic realities

that now expose us to serious tests require us to be more modest and thrifty, and to give up certain ancient delusions and certain sham enthusiasms.

Internationalist altruism and aid for one's weaker brethren are, of course, a noble and humanitarian cause. It was Christ who said: "If you have two robes, give one to your neighbor." However, whether because of his enforced brief life on earth or the poor conditions for calm scientific consideration, he omitted advice to the man who possesses only one shirt what he should do.

Zhivkov Greets Iraq's Husayn on National Day

AU1807112589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, has sent a message to Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, which contains warmest greetings on the country's national day.

The message expresses confidence that relations of friendship and mutual assistance between our two countries will even more successfully develop and strengthen in the new and more favorable situation in the Middle East, which is the result of settling the Iraqi-Iranian conflict by political means, in accordance with the nations' striving for peace, confidence, and understanding, and in the spirit of the new political thinking.

The message addresses wishes for the prosperity and progress of the Iraqi people.

Leaders Meet, Holds Talks With Syria's Salihah

Kubadinski Receives Delegation

AU1707185289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] On 17 July Comrade Pencho Kubadinski received a delegation of the National Progressive Front of Syria led by Tawfiq Salilhah, member of the Front's central leadership and member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party.

The guests were briefed on the activity of our most popular public organization in Bulgaria and the problems solved by our people in all spheres of life in the process of restructuring. The Bulgarian peace-loving foreign policy and our country's willingness to strengthen cooperation and understanding with the Balkan peninsula states were pointed out.

Officials Receive Syrian NPF Members

JN1807105289 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 2015 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia—The National Progressive Front's [NPF] delegation, led by Dr Tawfiq Salihah, Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Regional Command member, and which includes Fayiz Isma'il as a member, met today with Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and member of the politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee.

During the meeting, Comrade Kubadinski stressed that Bulgaria—party, government, and people—supports the political stance adopted by Syria under the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and its secretary general President Hafiz al-Asad in the face of the imperialist and Zionist schemes against the Arab region. He said that Syria is the major deterrent in the region against imperialism and Zionism. He pointed out that Syria's principles have Bulgaria's support, and that Syria's policy in Lebanon is a sound policy that defends both Lebanon and Syria.

Kubadinski added that President al-Asad is a very wise leader, who leads his country toward peace in all crises in the region. He affirmed that Syria and Bulgaria are two friendly countries leading a common struggle.

At the beginning of his speech, Comrade Salihah conveyed the greetings of struggler Comrade Hafiz al-Asad to Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the friendly Bulgarian people. He also briefed the Bulgarians on the situation in the Middle East, stressing Syria's firm and principled policies on all Arab and international issues. He also emphasized the deep friendship between the two countries.

Comrade Salihah and his delegation also met with Dio Dikrov, chairman of the central council of the Bulgarian professional unions [name and title as heard], who expressed his pride in Syria's militant stance, and his great admiration for President Hafiz al-Asad.

The talks dealt with relations between the two professional organizations in the two friendly countries, and the need to promote them in the international struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

Comrade Salihah and the accompanying delegation arrived in Sofia last night on an official visit to Bulgaria.

Balev Receives Delegation

AU1807173089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Milko Balev received the delegation from the National Progressive Front of Syria that is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council. The delegation includes Tawfiq Salihah, member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, and Fayiz Isma'il, secretary general of the Socialist Unionist Movement.

Particular attention was paid to the Middle East situation, and the need was emphasized of speedily convening an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations to seek a comprehensive just solution to the Middle East problem with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO.

Both sides voiced satisfaction with the state and level of the comprehensive Bulgarian-Syrian cooperation, which is developing in the spirit of the accords reached between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Hafiz al-Asad.

Atanasov Holds Talks With Guests

AU1807182089 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 18 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today the delegation of the National Progressive Front of the Syrian Arab Republic, including Mr Tawfiq Salihah, member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Party Ba'th, and Mr Fayiz Isma'il, secretary general of the Socialist Unionist Party.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the development of relations between the two countries and a wish to activate further economic relations. They spoke of the role of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Hafiz al-Asad for the strengthening and deepening of bilateral cooperation. Topical issues were discussed of the international situation and the positive trends were stressed in the struggle for disarmament, security and peace in the world.

Mr Georgi Atanasov acquainted the guests with the basic trends and the results of the July Concept for restructuring in Bulgaria.

Army Daily Article on Necessity of Armed Forces

AU1807182189 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Jul 89 p 1

[Major Vladi Vladkov article: "Is the Army Necessary?"]

[Text] I have an acquaintance. In the past he applied for admission to military school, but he was rejected. Now I often meet him on my way to work. I do not know whether he is still offended or whether his life has imposed on him a worldly "theory," but he always directed the conversation in the same direction: "Look what is happening throughout the world. People are destroying weapons and conducting talks, wars are ending. The army is going out of fashion...." And, of course, he never wasted the opportunity to give me "benevolent" advice: "Look, while you are still young, why not take off your uniform and let us start searching for a good job for you."

I tried to prove to him, to convince him that a modern and well-educated person should not think that the functions of the army have been exhausted today. In vain. All my arguments shattered against the deliberately constructed wall of elementary pacifism.

However, 2 weeks ago the same acquaintance phoned me:

"May I come to you?"

"Come," I said.

He came, breathless, alarmed.

"Here you have more important information. Is it true that Turkey will attack us?"

"There are such plans," I answered calmly. And I purposefully added: "Did you find a job for me?"

"Come on, man, what job are you talking about? Do not you see what is going on? Those people over there do not mean well. What shall we do if they start something?"

I did not answer him. There are people whose job it is to think about it. However I saw how snobbish logic and artificial philosophy collapsed in front of my eyes.

I am convinced that the anti-Bulgarian slanders and military threats of Turkey against our country have cooled the heads of many hard-core pacifists. However, did we have to wait for external factors to understand that the Army has its own role in our life? Must a war start in order for respect to be shown to those who daily and inconspicuously remain at their posts in the standby aircraft, on guard duty, at the control panel, and everywhere else, so that we can calmly work, rest, love....

It is true that the change for the better in the international arena has brought the people calm and confidence, and decreased tension in everyday life. However, it is only in the Army that there can be no relaxation. The daily military tension does not subside there.

"Is this not conservatism?"—my friend used to ask me in the past. Let us hope that now he has understood that our calm, confidence, and security are the reflection of the strenuous work of the people who temporarily or permanently wear military uniform.

Our Army was among the first to greet the new political thinking in international relations. It supported it with specific deeds—a decision was adopted to unilaterally decrease the troops, combat equipment and weapons, and the military budget. The Bulgarian soldiers greet the warming up of the political climate in the world and greet with approval the news about treaties that have been signed and about the successful talks on decreasing and eliminating the nuclear and conventional arsenals.

However, while their hands are busy applauding all this, they will not lay their automatic rifles on the ground, but will continue to keep our powder dry.

'Rumor' of Border Shooting Accident Clarified

AU1707153089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Jul 89 p 2

[Vanyo Stoilov report: "Much Ado About Nothing"]

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo, 14 July—The rumor, disseminated by Turkish radio, was eagerly picked up by certain foreign mass media. Ostensibly, there had been a shooting at the border, and those crossing the Turkish border had reported that there were at least two casualties....

What actually happened on the night of 12 July at about 0130 local time was a banal matter. This is what happened, in an abbreviated form: A violator has been detained during his attempt to cross the state border without documents. Energetic action was required on the part of the employees at the Kapitan Andreevo checkpoint and the border guards. The violator, Severin Sashev Ognyanov, age 30, from Patitsa Village, Khaskovo Oblast, is already at home.

However, let us say that every illegal attempt to cross the border causes tension. The same thing happened on the night in question. Petty Officer Vasil Zhekov describes the case:

"I was on duty at the third barrier when the border guards warned me that a suspicious-looking man was in the vicinity of the checkpoint. It was quiet and no cars were crossing the border. It was not difficult to determine that there was a man in a nearby ditch. Then I saw the man jump over the fence at the border checkpoint and start to run along the square in the direction of the arcade of shops. I ran after him and fired two warning shots because he did not react to my shouts and did not stop. Several employees heard my shots and immediately joined me.

"Ivan Savov, a customs inspector who caught the person, was among them."

As is customary in such cases, the Bulgarian side immediately informed the Turkish authorities about the incident. This was done by Iliya Mikahylov, deputy commander of the checkpoint:

"On 12 July I requested a meeting at the border barrier with Mr Faruq, commander of the Kapikule border checkpoint. I briefed him in detail about the night incident. I pointed out that there were no casualties or injured persons. I also did not conceal the fact that the violator was a Bulgarian citizen."

What can one add to this? The violator, Severin Ognyanov, is a construction worker who recently worked in Bortsi Village, near Shumen. After his divorce he started to drink. He came to the border to see off his friends, who departed for Turkey. They had a few drinks and.... Ognyanov himself has filled out documents for traveling to Turkey, thus he hardly had any reason to seek such a route over the border. This is also the opinion of investigator Zhivkov Danev:

"Severin Ognyanov has understood the nature of his deed and has a critical attitude toward it. He is already at home. No punitive sanctions will be applied against him."

BCP, BZNS Control Organs Coordinate Efforts

AU1707181789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Jul 89 pp 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Joint Work in the Struggle for Renewal"]

[Text] The topic of our headline was the main issue discussed by the bureaus of the Central Control-Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Control-Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] on 14 July 1989. They assessed their joint activity until now and the struggle against the weaknesses and delaying processes in implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP and the 35th BZNS Congresses, the July Concept, and the decisions of the BCP Central Committee December 1988 Plenum. A positive assessment was made of their joint work, and it was pointed out that under conditions of restructuring it must acquire an even more organized and purposeful character, and that essential changes are necessary in both the content and forms of the joint activity, which must be transferred first of all to the territory of the municipalities and mayorships.

In their statements, Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central-Auditing Commission, and Lyuben Stefanov, chairman of the BZNS Control-Auditing Commission, stressed the great importance of the common further activity and the premises formulated at the 31 March 1989 joint meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the BZNS Permanent Board. They pointed out that the issues of the new agrarian policy, adopted by the BCP Central Committee May 1989 Plenum, the struggle against negative phenomena, and the elimination of the weaknesses and violations in implementing social policy must be given priority in implementing joint control. What is now required is to utilize more broadly and fully the forms and means of control in strengthening labor, technological, and financial discipline, to relentlessly struggle against waste, theft, and corruption, and to strengthen one's influence on indifference, bureaucracy, and routine, in order to assert a spirit of great responsibility among the Communists and allied agrarians.

Special attention was devoted to the issue that the control implemented by the control-auditing organs of the BCP and the BZNS must become even more purposeful and active. This control must contribute to revealing and eliminating in a timely way the causes that

delay the timely and qualitative implementation of the country's socioeconomic plan, the plans of the relevant agrarian farms and companies, the introduction of the achievements of the scientific-technical progress, and the better use of the basic production funds to increase the social productivity of labor and greatly improve the scope and quality of agricultural production.

In accordance with the requirements of the July Concept, it is the primary task of the BCP and BZNS control organs to fully cooperate in developing the processes within the party, further democratizing the life of the BCP and BZNS, enriching socialist pluralism, asserting the political approach, and making restructuring the personal cause of every Communist and allied agrarian.

Reasons for Siberian Miners' Strike Discussed

AU1807114789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jul 89 p 5

[Vladimir Jancura article: "Strike in the Kuzbass; What Do the Siberian Miners Want?"]

[Text] The first reports of escalating social tension in the Kuzbass mining towns and villages came through at the beginning of last week. At that time, miners had begun to strike in Mezhdurechensk. On Friday [14 July] their basic demands were met and on Saturday they went back to work. Meanwhile, however, the sparks of unrest were transfered to other mining centers in the Kuznetsk coal basin. According to yesterday's reports, almost 100,000 miners are refusing to work and in many towns—for example, Prokopyevsk and Kiselevsk—collectives of metallurgists, chemists, and engineers have joined them....

Kuzbass is one of the largest bituminous coal basins in the world. Coal supplies to a depth of 600 meters are estimated at almost 115 billion tonnes. Every year more than 130 million tonnes are extracted from them, which is less than the Donbass region supplies to the country but the Kuzbass coal is considered to be cheaper and is already half coke. Its output and quality have enabled the growth of the USSR's largest industrial complex east of the Urals. Kuzbass is the most densely populated region of Siberia. Important industrial centers such as Kemerovo, Novokuznestk, Lenin-Kuznetskiy, and others have also been developed there.

But development of their social infrastructure has for decades lagged behind the increased coal extraction and the growth of industrial production. Recently Vladimir Gvozdev, a Hero of Socialist Labor and a famous Kemerov miner, spoke very urgently about this from the platform of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. He pointed out that their region, which in the Russian Federation occupies 13th place in the volume of industrial production, finds itself in 43 place in providing citizens with apartments and 53 place in the standard of preschool facilities provided. The residents of many mining towns endure acute shortages of drinking water and basic types of goods, including the most essential foodstuffs, are not available in their retail chains.

V. Gvozdev directed his criticism primarily at the all-union ministries and in particular at the USSR Coal Industry Ministry which continues to refuse to give priority to investing funds in the Kuzbass social sphere.

Eleven days ago the USSR Supreme Soviet debated and approved the candidacy of Mikhail Shchadov for the post of USSR Minister of the Coal Industry (he has been carrying out this function since 1985). In his program speech he subjected the main problems of Kuzbass to a critical analysis and outlined methods for their solution. The majority were in harmony with the current demands of the striking miners. They differ in one thing, the deadlines for fulfilling the assigned tasks.

As is made clear from reports in the Soviet press, the Strike Committees are in favor of the immediate provision of complete independence in economic accountability for their enterprises, which they were previously deprived of when all the managerial functions were centralized in the ministry and its main administration and production associations. In a recent parliamentary discussion, Nikolay Ryzhkov defined this step as being a grave mistake. At the same time, he announced that the government intends to enable the miners to trade freely with coal on world markets so that in this way they can acquire hard currency for the technological development of their enterprises and can satisfy the social needs of the collectives.

M. Shchadov has spent several days in the Kemerov region and has spoken at meetings of miners' collectives. He is endeavoring to convince them to return to work and has promised them that their demands will be dealt with as soon as possible by the Council of Ministers and the USSR Supreme Soviet. However, the strikers insist that an authoritative commission comes from Moscow to negotiate with them. In some places in the Kuzbass region political demands are also beginning. There is insistence, for example, on the resignation of several local functionaries.

As PRAVDA, the organ of the CPSU Central Committee, wrote yesterday, strike committees in Prokopyevsk and Lenin-Kuznetskiy have decided to suspend the distribution of fuel to customers. In just a few days this can seriously disrupt production in metallurgical enterprises and thermal power plants. Losses in coal extraction are already estimated to be in the region of hundreds of thousands of tonnes. "But these are only chicken feed in comparison to the possible consequences of the strike," stressed Soviet PRAVDA.

The situation in Kuzbass is even more complicated and local observers are so far not venturing to predict its further development.

Profitability Main Criterion for USSR Ventures

AU1707152989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Antonin Krumnikl, minister of fuel and power, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Pavel Paral; place and date not given: "Our Teams at Projects in the USSR—Successes and Shortcomings"]

[Excerpts] Antonin Krumnikl, CSSR minister of fuel and power, last week visited the gas industry construction sites we are building in the Soviet Union within the framework of integration projects. After his return, we asked him for some information on the current situation of the projects. [passage omitted]

[Paral] What is the cooperation with the Soviet partners now? How are we succeeding in finding replacements for construction projects which have been scrapped?

[Krumnikl] The present situation is marked by a number of changes in the original plans. Our public has already been informed about some of them. Regarding Karachaganak, compared with the original intergovernmental agreement, out of its total volume for the Ninth 5-Year Plan totaling R202 million, a processing plant worth R90 million will not be built. Projects worth R47 million have been provisionally defined, the remaining projects are still being discussed. These are projects that are to be built after 1990. I would like to reiterate that the profitability of our participation in the construction is the fundamental criterion in our bilateral negotiations. I expect that we will resolve the basic aspects of this whole problem by the end of the third quarter. The anticipated growth in supplies of natural gas to Czechoslovakia in the coming years urgently requires this.

Johanes Receives Soviet Charge Kuznetsov
LD1807125689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Today, in Prague, Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received Marat Kuznetsov, charge d'affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia, with whom he discussed the further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and current international problems.

Government Wants Compensation If Dam Unfinished
LD1807145589 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 18 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Government's delegation which will hold talks with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth leaves for Budapest with a clear objective formulated in the government's statement of May 15, 1989, head of the Government Presidium Office's Press Department Miroslav Pavel said here today.

The government considers the unilateral suspension of the work on the Nagymaros dam by Hungary to be at variance with the agreement on the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power plants signed between Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1977, the Czechoslovak official stressed, adding that Czechoslovakia regards this agreement to be valid and binding for both sides and insists that it be observed. The unilateral suspension for more than the two months, announced originally, has caused considerable damage which might even be much higher in case the construction is completely halted. The Czechoslovak Government will require compensation, Pavel stressed, and pointed out that Czechoslovakia hopes that the talks will help find a joint way towards a successful completion of the power plant.

Fojtik Receives Polish Party Secretary Stepien
LD1707153489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, today met Marian Stepien, secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee. They briefed each other about topical tasks both fraternal parties are tackling. At the same time, they examined the development of cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR, in particular in the area of cultural policy.

Zak Meets With Li Peng, Ends PRC Visit
AU1807165989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jul 89 pp 1,4

[CTK report: "Conclusion of Jaromir Zak's Visit to the PRC; Reforms in China Continue"]

[Text] Beijing—Jaromir Zak, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, met with Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, in Beijing on Saturday [15 July]. The two representatives exchanged views on the fundamental principles of the realization of economic reforms in the CSSR and the PRC.

The Chinese premier provided detailed information about the situation following the suppression of the recent counterrevolutionary uprising, and other tasks connected with the implementation of the economic and political reform. He noted that the situation in Beijing and in the whole of China has been fully normalized. He noted the importance of the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China [CPC], at which a new party leadership was elected. He stressed that in no case will China abandon the line of the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee (1987), that it will resolutely continue the policy of opening itself to the world, that it will strictly adhere to the four cardinal principles of building socialism on the basis of specific Chinese characteristics, and that it will definitely not abandon its peaceful and independent foreign policy.

It is necessary that the reforms in China continue, the Chinese representative stressed. He said that in the interest of doubling the national income in the next 10 years, an annual increment of 6-7 percent has been planned, and that ensuring food for the 1.1 billion Chinese inhabitants will be an exceptionally demanding task.

He added that despite the pressure exerted by some countries, China will not abandon its principles. He quoted Deng Xiaoping, China's most influential politician, as having said that when the domestic situation is not very favorable, people must live modestly and do without.

J. Zak conveyed to Li Peng cordial greetings from the highest Czechoslovak party and state representatives. The greeting were returned with thanks.

J. Zak attended the CSSR national exhibition day at the First Beijing International Fair on Saturday [15 July]. During a meeting with representatives of economic circles, he stressed that the extensive participation of Czechoslovak organizations in the fair corresponds to the importance of the foreign trade between Czechoslovakia and

China in recent years. We are not concentrating solely on the exchange of goods, but also on the sphere of production cooperation, which can be particularly illustrated by the Tatra trucks and textile machinery, in which production cooperation successfully continues. An important part of Czechoslovak exports are deliveries of turnkey plants, especially the deliveries of the 500 MW blocks for the Sen-tchou [spelling as published] power station. The basis of the Czechoslovak piece deliveries for export are trucks, machine tools, and textile machinery, the Czechoslovak representative stressed.

J. Zak concluded his working visit to China on Saturday [15 July], and left for home.

Angolan President Dos Santos Pays Working Visit

Arrives, Met by Fojtik

LD1807052189 Prague CTK in English 1811 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 17 (CTK)—Chairman of the Angolan MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Party of Labour and President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos arrived here today for a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia.

He was welcomed at Prague airport by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik.

Meets With Husak

LD1807172289 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak president Gustav Husak received chairman of the Angolan MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]—Party of Labour and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at Lany near Prague today.

The Angolan guest, who arrived here for a friendly working visit yesterday, informed Gustav Husak of the results of the recent international conference of eighteen African countries in Gbadolite, Zaire, on the present situation in the south of Africa. He stressed that the declaration adopted there confirmed the will of the Angolan people to end the internal conflict, contained a cease- fire agreement, and created preconditions for national reconciliation in the country. It thus opened up the possibility to restore and stabilize the country's economy seriously affected by the war, and to pursue a program of economic and financial reconstruction, provided that the Gbadolite agreements are consistently observed. This will also make possible extension of Czechoslovak-Angolan cooperation in the spheres of common interest, the Angolan official said.

Gustav Husak underlined Czechoslovakia's solidarity with the Angolan people in their effort to strengthen their national independence and unity, to improve the country's economic and financial situation. He voiced support for all peoples in the south of Africa struggling against the aggressive policy of racism and apartheid, and welcomed the current positive process aimed at ensuring Namibia's independence, stressing Angola's contribution to the solution of this issue. He pointed out that a good basis for active contacts and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Angola has been created in the past period, and voiced the conviction that their cooperation will be promoted to the benefit of both countries.

Received by Jakes

LD1907034989 Prague CTK in English 1829 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today visiting chairman of the Angolan MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Party of Labour and President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

He acquainted his guest with the present situation in Europe and with Czechoslovakia's policy of economic reforms and democratization of political and social life.

The Angolan leader informed Milos Jakes of the latest developments in the south of Africa and effort to ensure peace and cooperation in south-west Africa. Milos Jakes voiced full support to the launched process of peaceful settlement of the situation in the region and appreciated the Angolan president's personal contribution to the implementation of this policy.

Janak, Delegation Depart for Nicaragua

AU1807180789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report: "A Czechoslovak Delegation Departs for Nicaragua"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, during the early morning hours, a Czechoslovak party and government delegation headed by Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, departed for the Republic of Nicaragua to celebrate its national day, the 10th anniversary of the Sandinista revolution. Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, bade farewell to the delegation at Ruzyne Airport. Ramon Bayardo Altamirano Lopez, ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua to the CSSR, and Jorge Hart Davalos, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Cuba, were also present.

Husak, Adamec Congratulate Iraqi Counterparts
AU1807173289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
17 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report in the "From the Office of the President of the Republic" column]

[Text] Prague—Gustav Husak, CSSR president, has sent Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, a congratulatory telegram on his country's national day.

On this same occasion, Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, sent his congratulations to Taha Yasin Ramadan, the first deputy premier of the Republic of Iraq.

Cooperation With FRG Company Extended
AU1307124789 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
13 Jul 89 p 13

["VWD" report: "Babcock and Skoda Extend Machine Factory"]

[Text] The German Babcock group and the CSSR Skoda group want to continue and increase their cooperation, which has existed for 20 years. The German Babcock company has revealed that an agreement to this effect was signed. Under this treaty, Babcock will modernize the production plants of SES Tlmace (Slovak Machine Factory S.M. Kirove), which is part of Skoda, to enhance and improve the capacities for the production of power plant components.

During the 20 years of cooperation between Babcock and Skoda joint projects for the construction of power plants have been carried out in Brazil, Hungary, the PRC, Morocco, and in the Middle East. Apart from the traditional European markets, Babcock and Skoda want to cooperate in South America and the states in the Persian Gulf in the future.

Jakes Congratulates Greek Leaders on Election
AU1707151589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
15 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, has sent a message of congratulations to Grigoris Farakos, general secretary of the Greek Communist Party, and to Khariloas Florakis, Greek Communist Party chairman, on their election to their posts.

Austrian Bank Analyzes Economic Situation
AU1807132389 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German
18 Jul 89 p 8

[Text] In 1988, with a 2.2 percent increase in the gross domestic product, the CSSR economy achieved the best result of the current 5-year plan period, although every fourth industrial enterprise did not reach its plan target. According to a country analysis by the Girozentrale Bank, private consumption increased 4.5 percent. With a 6.9 percent growth, exports to Western foreign countries developed better than expected.

Report on Government Plenary Session
AU1807093589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "The CSSR Government Held a Session"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [13 July], the CSSR Government held a plenary meeting. It discussed a report on the results of the first stage of the coordination of national economic plans with the CEMA member countries for the years 1991-95.

The Czechoslovak concept of coordination, on the basis of the conclusions of the 44th CEMA session, proceeds from the premise that only the fundamental priorities for the exchange of goods such as, for example, mutually conditional supplies of fuels and raw materials, and corresponding reciprocal supplies will be coordinated at an inter-governmental level. In this way, the agreed flow of goods will be guaranteed by the center and provided for by the corresponding instruments of the state plan. The majority of the exchange of goods should be implemented on the basis of contracts between the supplier and the customer. The course of the coordination of national economic plans, which has already been going on for more than one and a half years, on the one hand, is indicative of a delay in work, particularly at the department and enterprise level, and, on the other hand, of the pressure from partner countries to retain, to as broad an extent as possible, centrally guaranteed items in mutual trade.

After discussing the report, the CSSR Government set the task of intensifying work on the coordination of plans, first and foremost, at branch and enterprise level out of consideration for the effective utilization of the capacities of the processing industry, and it also set the task of drafting proposals for the control mechanism which will enable the behavior of economic organizations to be effectively influenced in the sphere of external economic relations with the CEMA member countries.

In another part of the discussion, the government became acquainted with a report on the state of work in the coordination of national economic plans between the CSSR and the USSR for the years 1991-95.

The draft principles of Czechoslovak participation in the preparation and implementation of select integration projects with the CEMA member countries was submitted on the basis of a critical evaluation of information and problems which arose during the implementation of contemporary integration projects. The government approved these principles, first and foremost, stressing the criteria of economic interest and national economic expediency, as an auxiliary control mechanism to orient both the departments and the enterprise sphere in this area.

A comprehensive report on safeguarding the effective reproduction process in the printing industry follows up on the already initiated first stage of modernization in the conclusion of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, about which the government has made a decision, and proposes other measures for the printing industry up to the year 2000. During the course of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, the aim of this program is to eradicate the consequences of excessive wear and tear of basic assets in this sphere, to create conditions for its self-financing, and to guarantee fulfillment of the fundamental functions of printing, while respecting the realistic development possibilities of the paper industry. The report, which the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] and Slovak SR Governments discussed positively, reckons, among other things, with the modernization of the photogravure production of magazines in Prague, newspaper production in Plzen, and the printing plant in Kosice. It will end the currently necessary dependence on imports, the provision of paper, and wage conditions in the printing industry. It also sets the task of increasing domestic production of machinery and equipment for the printing industry.

The aim of measures to increase the quality of foods and to modernize and reconstruct the food industry, including the provision of packaging material and packaging technology for the period of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, which the CSSR Government has discussed, is to create conditions for accelerating the development of this sphere. Following the prior agreement of the Czech SR and Slovak SR Governments, the CSSR Government set the task of compiling before the end of this year, the aims and chronological procedure for the modernization and reconstruction of the production base of of the food industry, including shipping and handling facilities, of discussing the required supplies of investment units, machinery and equipment with specific local producers, and of specifying the importation of machinery. It further set the task of drafting and submitting before the end of next year, a bill on food which will comprehensively lay down the conditions for food production.

The CSSR Government approved a standpoint on the International Labor Office [ILO] conventions on the protection of wages, on hygiene in offices and shops, on cancer caused by work, and on the working environment, and gave the CSSR foreign minister the task of informing the ILO director general that the CSSR regards itself to be bound by these conventions.

The CSSR Government expressed its agreement with the conclusion of an agreement between the CSSR Government and the government of the Republic of Austria to revise issues of joint interest concerning nuclear safety and protection against radiation. This agreement, with which the Czech SR and the Slovak SR Governments concurred, follows up on the previous contractual document and relates to all the nuclear equipment on the territory of both states. It is a concrete manifestation of good-neighborly relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria. The government further expressed its agreement with the conclusion of an agreement between the CSSR and United Arab Emirates Governments on air transportation.

The CSSR Government discussed draft principles for a bill on metrology, a bill on technical normalization, bills on the Legal Gazette [Sbirka Zakonu], and a bill on the protection of rights to new plant hybrids and cross-bred animals. The CSSR Government premier was entrusted with passing the proposals on to the CSSR Federal Assembly for further constitutional discussion.

The CSSR Government directive on the obligatory negotiation of supplier-customer relations, and the concretization of mandatory targets for the state plan in production supplies represents a procedural regulation in the economic code and the bill on national economic planning. It replaces Decree No. 48/1980 valid until now, and significantly reduces the number of rounds of obligatory negotiation on supplier-customer relations, and the participation of the center corresponding to this in resolving the disputes which arise. The bilateral obligation of suppliers and customers to negotiate their relations will concern production which is the subject of the designated tasks of the state plan and consumption limits. In this way, the decree respects the fundamental changes which the restructuring of the economic mechanism is bringing from the point of view of the independence and responsibility of socialist organizations.

In 1988, state and economic organs and organizations in the CSSR dealt with a total of 127,918 complaints and letters of advice, that is, 26,861 fewer than 1987, and 1,611 suggestions. At the same time, the number of letters addressed to the CSSR premier grew from 2,928 in 1987 to 3,393 in 1988. Out of the overall number, 44.6 percent of the complaints were justified (46.7 percent in 1987). From a factual point of view, the most numerous group consists of complaints about conditions in organs and organizations, supplies and the problems of business, housing management, maintenance of the housing stock, and transportation. The overall number of sanctions on the basis of justified complaints came to 33,185 (39,588 in 1987) and the total number of financial sanctions reached Kcs54.2 million (an increase of Kcs22.4 million over 1987). After discussing an analysis of the main information gained from dealing with the complaints, letters of advice, and suggestions lodged by citizens in 1988, the government expressed its dissatisfaction with the slow eradication of the long-term and persistent causes which arouse the justified complaints of citizens. It set the task of drawing conclusions against responsible employees for the non-fulfillment of the previous CSSR Government resolution No. 199/88 on information gained from complaints in 1987, and of handing over the information gained from citizens' complaints on the shortage of goods in the domestic market and its unsatisfactory quality, directly to the manufacturing organizations with a request for concrete measures to alter this situation.

The CSSR Government became acquainted with a report on the development of Czechoslovak nuclear energy which was worked out jointly by the CSSR Ministry of Fuels and Energy and the Czechoslovak Commission for Atomic Energy. The report contains data on nuclear power stations which are in operation, under construction, and under preparation in the context of the present situation of nuclear energy in the world, and it devotes attention to guaranteeing the safety of nuclear equipment.

The government appraised the reliable and safe operation of the eight VVER [Water-Morderated Water-Cooled Power Reactor] 440 units in the Jaslovske Bohunice and Dukovany nuclear power plants and their contribution to the production of electricity in the CSSR, which achieved the level of 26.7 percent last year and which puts us in 12th place in the world.

The CSSR Government also became acquainted with reports on the results of the quality review which was carried out by the People's Control Committee during the second half of 1988, and on the implementation of measures to increase the quality of Czechoslovak production, on the participation of the Czechoslovak delegation at the London Information Forum, and on the course and results of the official visit made by the CSSR foreign minister to the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Legislative Changes in Preparatory Stages
AU1807105289 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 13 Jul 89 p 3

["b"-signed report: "On Planned Legislative Changes; Laws Pertaining to the Activity of the National Committees"]

[Text] A number of legislative changes pertaining to the activity and decisionmaking of the national committees are in the preparatory stage. Representatives of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic briefed journalists on some of them yesterday [12 July].

On the basis of the amendment to the Criminal Code, the criminal offenses of leaving the Republic and of drunkeness will become misdemeanors and will be handled by the national committees. The existing prosecution of unauthorized emigration is mostly formal. It requires complicated investigations, court proceedings, and sentencing, as well as extensive administrative work involved with requests to be pardoned by the President of the Republic. The existing designation of these responsibilities is ineffective and criminal prosecutions are not fruitful. Another objective of the proposed legal amendment is to prevent the misuse of Paragraph 12 of the International Pact on Civic and Political Rights (according to which anyone can leave his country) by hostile propaganda. After the new criminal code becomes effective, a citizen's return from abroad following unauthorized departure from the Republic is to be dealt with in a misdemeanor proceedings, and he can be fined Kcs10,000. This, of course, does not apply to citizens who attempted to emigrate with a weapon in hand, or to those who, when leaving the Republic, were connected with an act of violence. In addition, some offenses classified today as transgressions, such as, for example, poaching, will become misdemeanors.

Also in a preparatory stage is a new law on citizens' individual activities, designed to expand opportunities for small-scale entrepreneurship and safeguard the legal security of citizens who—with the permission of the national committees—are carrying out such an activity. However, the important thing is that the small-scale entrepreneurship would concentrate mainly on satisfying the material needs of the population, to see that services are offered in spheres in which they are most needed and are not reserved for socialist organizations. The initiatives to date have been mostly focused on various intermediary or advisory [zprostredkovatelske a poradenske] services—for example, there is great interest in providing legal advice and the like. In Prague, for example, private detectives applied for licenses, and there was an attempt to establish a private psychotherapy office. What is involved in these cases, ministry representatives stressed, are not services dedicated to satisfying material needs and, moreover, health services, according to the law, are the purview of the state. Asked by journalists why, for example, private detectives—if requested—could not in summer months guard apartments of vacationers, O. Tezka, LLD, replied that involved in this case is a service protecting citizens' property and the national committee should not have objections to issuing a permit.

In preparation also are: a new law on national committees, a law on elections to national committees, of deputies of national committees, and on rules of procedure of national committees. These legal norms should strengthen the powers of, particularly, primary levels of the national committees, deepen democratization, and increase citizens' participation in self-management. National committees will take stands on the stipulations of the legal norms before they will be submitted to the legislative bodies for discussion.

Report on 14 Jul Party Presidium Session
AU1807150289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jul 89 p 1

["Report on CPCZ Central Committee Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Friday [14 July], the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee discussed a report on the course and results of the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states held in Bucharest on 7-8 July and, with the CSSR Government, adopted a standpoint which is published separately.

It discussed the content and the ensurance of the political and organizational preparations for the next regular session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which will be held this fall, and which will, among other things, assess problems connected with the reshaping and protection of the environment.

It discussed draft documents for preparing the 18th Congress, concerning the assessment of the party's social and economic policy, and working out its concept for the 1991-95 period.

It took note of the preparatory work to date on the draft of the new CSSR Constitution, which has been entrusted to a team headed by CSSR Minister Marian Calfa. It is expected that the draft of the Constitution will be submitted for broad public debate in January 1990. After a discussion of the results of the public debate, the new Constitution will be submitted to the 18th CPCZ Congress. After that it will be submitted for discussion and approval to the CSSR Federal Assembly.

It discussed the control report on implementing the measures adopted in October 1987 aimed at intensifying the flow of information to the public from the information media. It stressed that the implementation of the Leninist principle of transparent policy and public information is one of the most important components for the further development of socialist democracy. Knowledge to date reveals that the overall flow of information to the public has increased in all spheres of domestic and foreign policy. On the other hand, however, it shows that many party and state bodies, as well as the information media, have been inadequately asserting the principles of the flow of information to the public in their work. The Presidium adopted further conclusions, the purpose of which is to further expand and intensify this flow of information to the public. It also took note of the work schedule of the RUDE PRAVO editorial office in the precongress period.

It discussed the situation in the sectors managed by the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Construction and the Building Industry. The construction sector has been plagued for a number of years by the growing negative tendencies of extensive economic development; they have not succeeded in reducing material costs and inventories. Practical tasks in comprehensive housing construction are not ensured satisfactorily. The low performance level of the construction sector plays a role in the nonfulfillment of the tasks of the 17th CPCZ Congress concerning shortening construction deadlines and reducing the number of unfinished projects and construction costs. One of the main causes of the long-lasting deterioration of the situation in the construction sector is, in particular, the inability to master the management of the investment process. The Presidium took note of measures adopted by the CSSR Government to restore the stability and dynamics of the construction organizations managed by the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Construction and the Building Industry.

It discussed the control report on the implementation of the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat of 31 May 1989 on suggestions aimed at resolving some shortcomings regarding satisfying the justified needs of citizens. It noted that the desired improvement has not been achieved yet. It is necessary to take more resolute steps within the framework of the activity of governments and the pertinent ministries to consistently resolve these shortcomings regarding satisfying citizens' needs.

It took note of information on the course of the friendly working visit by Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to the SFRY between 28 June and 1 July. It noted with satisfaction that the development of cooperation to date between the CPCZ and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia creates prerequisites for its further improvement and for extending it to other spheres.

It also took note of the report on talks with Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party.

Rohlicek Interviewed on National Front Role

LD1507163389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Interview with Rudolf Rohlicek, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat member and CSSR National Front acting deputy chairman, by Jitka Stuchlikova place, date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Stuchlikova] At the beginning of our interview, we said that above all it was the National Front that was the synonym for socialist democracy in our country. Indeed, we titled this interview: The National Front—An Open System for Socialist Democracy. But perhaps when we deliberate at present about socialist democracy, we should bear in mind that the greater scope we shall create for this democracy, both by our activity and our responsibility in all our endeavours, the more we shall have of it.

[Rohlicek, in Slovak] I agree with you. We are going through a period of changes and movements both in the political and economic sense. The most suitable courses of the further development are being sought and clarification of views is taking place at the same time in which an ever broader public is taking an active part. The time calls for knowledge, resoluteness, but also level-headedness.

One of the key aims of the social and economic restructuring now being carried out is to galvanize people all round, increase their role in the community, and enable every citizen to share democratically in the management and administration of public affairs. The National Front, which brings together political parties and social and interest-based organizations representing around 95 percent of our adult citizens, has great possibilities here.

The current dynamic and complicated period however also provides an opportunity for the emergence of extremist views and demands. Some of them arise out of political naivity, out of the impression that it is possible to get around the socialist principle "according to one's work" and out of various other reasons, while others are the manifestations of issues that have not been tackled for a long period of time. I have in mind past years when the correct principle of democratic centralism was proclaimed, while the principle of centralism at the same time was suppressing, on more than one occasion, the need for democracy. Deformations occured in the way collective leadership was applied, and there was a tendency toward authorative commands and the growth of bureaucracy.

We cannot however close our eyes to the fact that in our country there are also people who do not wish socialism well. They would like to hide cunningly behind various theories about the crisis of communism. I would like to take this opportunity to recall Mikhail Gorbachev's remark made during his recent news conference in Paris that statements about the crisis of communism have already been heard by several generations. Today we cannot talk about a crisis but on the contrary about the renewal of our ideology.

There also exist exponents of the view that restructuring has caused many problems and that we could well have done without it. The fact is however that problems have been piling up for a long time. They have created various pressures and unhealthy situations. Only restructuring itself is enabling us to cope with them constructively. This is not easy but the espousal of causes, the solid clarification of various circumstances which caused them, public information, and debate on democratic principles is the effective method which brings about desirable results. For this reason, it enjoys the support of the decisive majority of our citizens.

Social development has always been a political struggle and the present cannot be an exception. We know that new tasks are ahead of us, which also means new worries, frequently hard work, and stress. Because of this we shall surely not abandon the results created during past decades through the honest work of our people, literally the results of the struggles for the political character of our Republic. This is why we say openly that not words but actions are decisive in demonstrating one's attitude to restructuring and our future, and that in the final analysis this is the matter of reason and heart.

Rohlicek Awarded Order of Republic on Birthday

AU1807173389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Order of the Republic for Comrade Rudolf Rohlicek; Comrade Milos Jakes Presented the High-Ranking State Decoration"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [13 July], Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, presented Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, with the Order of the Republic, which had been conferred on him by the CSSR president on the occasion of his 60th birthday, in recognition of his many years of selfless work for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and for socialist society. Ignac Janak, Jozef Lenart, Karel Urbanek, and Jan Bouchal were present at the solemn event.

Gustav Husak, CSSR president, sent Rudolf Rohlicek a congratulatory letter on his birthday in which he praised the recipient's work for the Communist Party and socialist society, and in which he thanked him for his meritorious activity in distinguished party and state posts.

Alois Indra also received Rudolf Rohlicek on the occasion of his 60th birthday. He congratulated Rohlicek on his significant jubilee and on being awarded the Order of the Republic, and he handed him a salutatory letter from the CSSR Federal Assembly in which it expresses its appreciation for his many years of active work in the most senior representative corps of the Czechoslovak Federation.

At the same time, Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, also congratulated Rudolf Rohlicek on his birthday and on being awarded the Order of the Republic.

Jakes Visits West Bohemia, Talks to Workers

LD1807085389 Prague CTK in English 1933 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Prague, July 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today visited the Skoda works in Plzen, the Tachov District, and the Rozvadov border crossing in West Bohemia.

During his tour of the Skoda engineering complex in the regional capital of Plzen, he asked questions concerning the production of the enterprise, the working and social conditions, earnings, supplier-consumer relations, as well as the work of the Communist Party, trade union, and youth groups in the works.

The Skoda concern in Plzen manufactures equipment for classical and nuclear power stations, rolling mills, heavy machine tools, trolleybuses, and electric locomotives. In its seventy years of the production of locomotives, it has put out some 3,200 steam engines and over 5,000 electric ones.

During a meeting with the plant's workers, its participants asked questions and voiced views clearly expressing the present sentiments and activity of the employees of the engineering works. Members of the work teams said that their groups supported the Communist Party Central Committee statement on the 41st anniversary of victorious February 1948 and condemned the anti-socialist appeal "Several Sentences".

In reaction to destabilization attempts, the Skoda workers undertook pledges responding to the present needs of the enterprise's development in the new conditions.

During his visit to the Tachov District, local officials told Milos Jakes about the implementation of the 1986 government resolution on the development of the district on the western border of Czechoslovakia.

The district, with an area of 1,379 sq km, is currently inhabited by almost 50,000 people, 1,200 of them new arrivals in the last three years. The average age of the population is 32 years.

Milos Jakes later went to Rozvadov, the busiest crossing on the Czechoslovak-West German border. 680,000 people have crossed here between the two countries since the beginning of this year, 60 percent more than in the same period of last year. Up to 1,500 Czechoslovak citizens traveling to or across the Federal Republic of Germany for holidays are handled here every day. According to passport control officials here, the increased number of Czechoslovak tourists reflects the streamlined regulations and extended possibilities of travel to non-socialist countries.

The general secretary was also shown the office where Czechoslovak visas are granted on the spot, within about ten minutes. Roughly 200 visas are provided to foreign visitors to Czechoslovakia here every day, but this number climbs to as many as 1,700 during peak periods, such as last Easter.

At the close of his visit to West Bohemia, Milos Jakes addressed a meeting of party officials and economic executives in Plzen. "The essence of all the new is to re-assign competences from the centre to enterprises, to apply full self-accounting and self-financing, involve people in decision-making and the management of plants, towns, and villages. All this necessarily involves also increased responsibilities," Milos Jakes said. The most important thing now is to fulfil this year's plan and successfully cope with the new economic conditions. People must see that this struggle is headed by communists, he pointed out.

Adamec Addresses South Bohemia on Socialism

LD1907034489 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Prague, July 18 (CTK)—"Socialism is not to be considered as an unchanging dogma", Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec stated today in an address to officials of the South Bohemian region in Ceske Budejovice.

"It is formed in the common effort of many countries and born from the positive and negative experiences of restructuring. Many things still require discussion, many are still in the experimental stage", the premier and Presidium member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia noted.

"However, one thing is certain. Socialist society is neither one of scarcity and privation, nor one of extravagance and squandering. The criterion was, is and will be the creation of conditions for meeting the material and intellectual needs of people, for successful competition with the capitalist states in labour productivity and living standards, and for implementing the rights of man", the premier said.

He made the address during his one-day visit to the South Bohemian region, during which he also visited the building site of a nuclear power station at Temelin. Speaking about Czechoslovakia's external economic relations, the premier pointed out that the time is gone when everything could be sold on the basis of inter-state agreements, regardless of quality.

He stressed that Czechoslovakia's lagging-behind is largely due to its isolation from the world development, small contact between its manufacturers and the world market, and the separation of production from trade. "In the present conditions of a rapid spread of integration tendencies, we must overcome this state for our own sake as quickly as possible. The West European states are headed towards a common market. We must not idly watch in the face of this challenge, but must step up our effort to hold our ground in competition with the developed states", Ladislav Adamec emphasized.

In conclusion of his address, he stressed Czechoslovakia's "full support for the great important and forward-looking ideas voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the council of Europe in Strasbourg on July 7. Our country in the heart of the continent warmly welcomes the proposal for a restructuring of the international order in Europe which would dramatically push forward the all-European values, and would make it possible to replace the imbalance of forces with the balance of interests. We actively join the process of creative cooperation of nations in forming the idea of European unification. We support the orientation at the creation of a vast economic zone from the Atlantic to the Urals and want to help maintain the common European home in ecological purity. We favour the creation of a European legal order and broad cooperation in the cultural field. We are proud that the idea of creating a common European home was declared in Prague. In the two years, it has gained broad support and our country too is helping to gradually put it into life", the premier said.

Italian Catholic Monthly Interviews Jan Fojtik

LD1607115589 Vatican City International Service in Slovak 1745 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] The July issue of Italian Catholic monthly IL MESSAGGERO DI SAN ANTONIO carries an interview with party ideologue Jan Fojtik by correspondent Carlo Napoli given in Prague. It reads:

Napoli: During the last few years, the communist parties in Hungary and Poland, after searching their consciences have recognized that some mistakes were committed in the past. What about your conscience-searching?

Fojtik: Our conscience is clear; we are sure about that. We do not insist that we did not commit mistakes, but we hold the view that there is no need to go public every 10 or 20 years and tear off our clothes with public self-criticism.

Napoli: Why is Czechoslovakia immobile when in the communist bloc things are now happening that were unthinkable a year ago?

Fojtik: I would like to give you my personal view. Look, Jaruzelski and Grosz explained to us what is happening in their countries. The same view is also shared by other members of the party leadership. I mean, the situation in those countries is very risky, very serious. I am not in any way a pessimist, but I believe everything is moving too quickly in those countries.

The Hungarian leader Grosz is concerned that the party does not lose control over the situation in the course of events. We, on the contrary, do not want our vehicle to go down a road too quickly, with the danger of turning over at the first bend.

Napoli: Does it mean, then, that you exclude any kind of a dialogue with the opposition?

Fojtik: It is a complicated question. It depends above all on the position taken by the forces you call the opposition. Look at Poland. Do you think that a year ago any responsible politician would have supported a dialogue with the opposition? Nevertheless, Lech Walesa took some steps, and the dialogue immediately began.

Janak Receives New Radio Director Kvapil

AU1807161489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Bratislava (CTK)—In Bratislava yesterday [13 July], Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, received Karel Kvapil, the new central director of Czechoslovak Radio, in connection with the latter's taking up his post. They discussed the topical tasks for Czechoslovak Radio in Slovakia.

'Full Agreement' on Pact Session Documents

AU1807152689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Jul 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Full Agreement With Bucharest Results"]

[Text] Berlin—On behalf of Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, briefed Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany [DBD] ; Wolfgang Heyl, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU]; Professor Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD]; Professor Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD]; and Professor Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, on the results of the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

The representatives of the parties and the president of the National Front National Council expressed their satisfaction and full agreement with the documents adopted at the meeting that prove the allied socialist states' determination to consistently continue their policy of peace, disarmament, and cooperation. They said that the fact that the Bucharest meeting had restated that negotiations should be continued and results should be achieved on halving the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, on reducing and banning nuclear tests, on banning and destroying chemical weapons, and on radically reducing conventional forces and arms, was in the interest of all GDR citizens. In this respect, it is particularly important that disarmament measures guarantee equal security for all states, while the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of each state within its existing borders must be strictly respected and the possibility of the use of force or the threat of force must be ruled out. The appeal to the NATO states to further the incipient change from confrontation to detente by disarmament measures of their own was marked by great political responsibility for international developments and was supported by all forces in the GDR's society, they said.

The DBD, CDU, LDPD, and NDPD representatives and the president of the National Front National Council stressed that the inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons in the negotiation process was becoming increasingly urgent. They welcomed the USSR's intention to start unilaterally reducing its tactical nuclear missiles in Europe, if NATO were to show the corresponding readiness for negotiations. The participants in the meeting stated their concern about the endeavors of influential forces within NATO to achieve military superiority and to compensate for weapons that have been removed under disarmament accords, and they expressed their concern about increasing attempts at interference in the socialist states' internal affairs. They stressed the statement made in the Bucharest documents that every nation determines its country's fate and has the right to chose its own social and economic system, as well as the type of state order that it considers suitable. They said that stability in Europe required the disclaiming of doctrines of confrontation and force, as well as the inadmissibility of any type of tutelage over other countries. Every attempt to call into question the European borders which are the result of World War II and postwar developments represents an attack on peace in Europe and replaces cooperation by confrontation. In this connection, all political and social forces in Europe are called upon to resolutely put an end to nationalist positions and the budding neo-Nazism in the FRG.

The chairmen of the parties that have friendly ties with the SED, and the president of the National Front National Council, asked Joachim Herrmann to convey to Erich Honecker their thanks for the work done in Bucharest under his chairmanship. They stressed that they would continue to use the possibilities they had to constructively help shape the policy of dialogue and cooperation.

In the course of the meeting, experiences were exchanged on the joint preparation for the GDR's 40th anniversary. It was stressed that the decisive thing continued to be the further strengthening of socialism on German soil for the people's benefit by their making their own contribution within the scope of the well-tried alliance between the parties. In this context, Joachim Herrmann passed on to the representatives of the friendly parties Erich Honecker's cordial thanks for the proposals and considerations submitted to him in preparation of the 12th SED Congress on further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR, and particularly on continuing of the course of the unity of economic and social policy. He said that, as the eighth Central Committee meeting had corroborated, the SED considered comradely and trusting cooperation in the democratic bloc and in the National Front to be a basic component part of its social strategy and its daily political practice.

Hager Comments on Development of Socialism

AU1807143289 East Berlin EINHEIT in German No 7/1989 pp 595-610

[Article by Politburo member Kurt Hager "based on a lecture at a meeting of GDR historians": "History and Understanding Our Time"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

Socialism in the Colors of the GDR

In the GDR the development of socialism has followed and is still following the general regularities that characterize a socialist social system, but it does not take place

in exactly the same way as in any other socialist country. Therefore, we are certainly justified in speaking about "socialism in the colors of the GDR."

Socialism in the colors of the GDR includes the close alliance of the workers class with the cooperative peasants and other working people, which is expressed in the National Front, the bloc of the democratic parties and mass organizations, and in the close cooperation between the party of the workers class and the friendly parties. This cooperation under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] characterizes political life and has fully stood its test in favor of socialism over the years after the liberation from Hitlerite fascism and over the 40 years of the GDR's existence. It has substantially contributed to promoting the initiative and cooperation of the citizens in social matters. The role of the local people's representative bodies has increased. In our country the trade unions have great responsibility for the basis of socialist democracy—democracy in the enterprise.

The colors of socialism in the GDR include, to cite only a few:

—social and cooperative ownership of producer goods and the existence of private crafts and small private businesses;
—the fact that land has not been nationalized but remains the property of the cooperative peasants;
—the unity of economic and social policy, which orients economic growth toward the welfare of the people;
—the existence of combines in industry, the construction sector, the transportation sector, and the bezirk-administered industry, which makes it possible to make full use of the advantages of socialist planned economy and the development and application of high and key technologies for raising labor productivity and increasing efficiency;
—the close interlacing of science and production, of the education sector and practical work.

If we speak of "socialism in the colors of the GDR" we mean that we have followed our own unmistakable path, that we have applied Marxism-Leninism to our conditions, and that in our country socialism has developed characteristics which correspond to our traditions, preconditions, experiences, and possibilities. As an advanced bastion of socialism, located at the dividing line to the imperialist system, and confronted with an imperialist state of German nationality, we were and still are placed in an incomparable position of struggle. This has brought us many strains, but it has also always had the effect of correcting dogmatic restrictions, the illusiory setting of the pace of development, and neglecting the needs and interests of the population or certain social groups.

Historians can certainly cite other additional aspects concerning the specific situation of the GDR. One cannot overlook the fact that a worker-peasant state on German soil, where the capitalist policy of power was once most highly developed, that the shaping of socialism on a territory which once belonged the the most highly developed capitalist industrial countries, is a particular challenge to imperialism. We have felt the pinch of it.

The development of socialism in the GDR is increasingly taking place under conditions that are open to the world. The improvements in economic and cultural relations between the GDR and the FRG are, on the other hand, opposed by steadfast efforts by media, politicians, and ideologists in the FRG to interfere in our domestic affairs, to undermine the citizens' trust in the party and the state, and to bring about a change in our social system.

This specific situation of the GDR is one of the reasons that here the ideological struggle is pursued in a particularly harsh way. The successes of our policy of dialogue do not make us overlook that the efforts of the imperialist opponents are aimed at shaking up socialism, undermining it, and finally eliminating it. Day after day we are subjected to massive ideological attacks; thus, the historians have the duty not only to resist these attacks but to make an offensive themselves, with their research results and their arguments.

The GDR is located at the dividing line between the two social systems and military alliances, at the most sensitive border in the world. Safeguarding its stability, both in the economic and political areas, under all conditions is a central issue of the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our country. It is not only in our own interest; it is a condition of security in Europe. A stable GDR is a stable peace factor for this continent.

While, as Erich Honecker stressed in the Politburo report to the seventh Central Committee session, we are justified in proceeding from the premise that our concept of the developed socialist society, which is set down in the party program, has stood its test, at the same time we are aware that it has not been concluded. In line with the dialectics of continuity and renewal, it must be steadily enriched and further creatively developed, so that newly emerging problems are noticed in time and can be successfully solved. This also sets the yardstick for the GDR's science of history, for its development now and in the 1990's.

In preparation for the 12th SED Congress, intensive intellectual and practical work has to be done. From this we will also have to derive criteria for assessing the path we have already covered and for evaluating our achievements. This applies both to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and to the shaping of the developed socialist society, which now forms the main contents of the longest period of GDR history. Now that we have shaped socialism on its own bases for almost 3 decades by using its advantages and motive forces, and as it becomes increasingly clear that this task is a

long-term task, it becomes increasingly urgent to determine in ever greater detail—proceeding from past achievements—the contents of stages and turning points, also as a concern of interdisciplinary research.

The authors' collectives of those volumes of "German History," which deal with the GDR's path from its founding to the present, are not facing an easy task. The realistic description of events calls for a detailed account of the incredible difficult starting conditions of our development, for which fascism and its predatory war were responsible. It calls for a description of the merciless struggle of imperialism against socialism on German soil with its serious consequences. And, finally, it calls for the contradictory dialectics of continuity and renewal, claims and reality, achievements and nonachievements to be mastered, and also for a conscientious historical stock-taking without white-washed balance sheets. Only if we approach the achievements in this way, pinpoint the resistance and obstacles that have to be overcome, do not keep quiet about errors and mistakes, and show the progressive process with its resulting decisions and conflicts, does the scope of the achievements become clear, a scope which will always be the center of our image of history.

No "Open German Question"

The consequences resulting from the fact that—as we said as early as 1971—history has decided on the national question will have to be considered more thoroughly. While during the first half of our century the Empire, the Weimar Republic, and the Nazi state followed each other in rapid succession, the two German states, which were established in the middle of our century, have proved to be very stable. Their place in European history is becoming increasingly clear. It has become evident that the Germans of the GDR and also the Germans in the FRG best serve peaceful cooperation in Europe, if they work for peace within the framework of their respective state and social system and make their contribution to the common European home, in which they will have separate apartments.

We are proud of the fact that we stood at the head of the struggle against the imperialist policy of tearing up Germany and for the unified democratic, peace-loving German republic. It was not those who today repeatedly conjure up the allegedly "open German question"—we were the ones who pointed out this alternative in the past and tried to implement it with all our strength. However, this national struggle in our past belongs to a historical period. Even more, the science of history should help to make everyone understand the preconditions and motives of this past policy and to know those who are blamed for the division of Germany, but also to understand that since then the situation has fundamentally changed, and that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence between the socialist GDR and the imperialist FRG.

It cannot be overlooked that not only the FRG but also other capitalist countries are dealing with GDR history to a considerably increased extent and that different trends are emerging. As the activities for the preparations of the 40th anniversary of the FRG demonstrated, the FRG media, exhibitions, and museums are fully geared to the official revanchist positions of the Bonn state. In contrast, the real events and reasons for restoration and division are swept under the rug. This mainly applies to the responsibility of the imperialist superpowers and the reactionary FRG monopolistic capital that is linked with them, who were striving to erect an anticommunist bulwark by founding the FRG.

Hushing up the real reasons and motives for the division of Germany creates the soil on which ultrarightist and neo-Nazi abuse of German postwar history flourishes, with which we have to deal with all necessary clarity. Our historians also face the task of being ready both for struggle and for dialogue; in particular for dialogue with leftist, social-reformist or democratic-liberal historians in the FRG, who are guided by reason and realism.

Our Antifascist Duty

The strong reactionary trends, which emerge in the policy and ideology in the FRG and in other imperialist countries, and are not only demonstrated by the entrance of clearly neofascist parties into parliament, also concern historiography. This became clear in those speeches and publications which caused the so-called "quarrel of historians" in the FRG and were aimed at rehabilitating Nazi fascism and its war against the Soviet Union. While at first speeches and publications wereundertaken for domestic use in order to counter progressive questions posed on history in connection with the 40th anniversary of the liberation, today it has long become clear that this is a general attack on socialism. The legitimacy of the October Revolution is frankly disputed, socialism is described as a "wrong track of history," and counterrevolution is propagated.

Half a century ago, fascism revealed its criminal nature to the entire world and suffered a devastating defeat—it is morally discredited. Nevertheless, we have to see that fascist forces are forming up again, finding fertile soil in imperialist policy, and receiving state protection and leeway on FRG territory, and that fascist ways of thinking and acting are alive in many places in bourgeois society. [passage omitted]

The basic difference between the GDR and the FRG in this question lies in the fact that in our country the economic roots of imperialism were eradicated immediately after the liberation by expropriating the war criminals and Nazi activists, while in the FRG these roots remained in existence contrary to the declared will of the majority of the citizens.Thus it was possible for the monopolies to regain their power. Overcoming the evil fascist spirit in the educational and in the cultural fields

led to a democratic reform of the schools and to renewing humanistic culture in our country. In view of these facts, which have characterized the social development and the intellectual-cultural life in our country for decades, one can only be astonished about the naivete with which the Western historians and journalists adopt their positions on the GDR's dealing with the history of fascism and try to denigrate our consistent settling of the fascist crimes and criminals. [passage omitted]

Fraternal Alliance With the CPSU

In research and propaganda of history we are dedicating great attention to the development of our party's fraternal alliance with the party of Lenin. Our party has never let any doubt be cast on the firm alliance with the CPSU and will not permit this in the future, either. Our close affinity with the CPSU and the other communist and workers parties is the guarantee of our successful work. The alliance includes the exchange of experiences and respecting the policy of every other party. It is based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

On 28 December 1988 an "Agreement Between the SED and the CPSU on the Long-Term Program of Cooperation in the Field of Social Sciences Between Scientists and Research Collectives of the GDR and the USSR" was signed. This is to deepen cooperation between social scientists in working out a concept of modern socialism and in solving basic problems of socialist economic integration.

Among the focal issues of cooperation, which were set down in the agreement, are also projects of the science of history concerning German history and GDR history, USSR history, German-Russian and German-Soviet relations, as well as international history. As we know, apart from concurrence on basic questions and apart from equal or similar approaches, there are also differing assessments of historical developments, events, and personalities. This corresponds to the variety in the development of the socialist countries, in which unity will form at a higher level, does not mean anything negative and, by no means is an obstacle to fruitful cooperation. Cooperation will be in line with the principles of equality, autonomy, and independence of the parties, with their responsibility toward their own people, and with their internationalist duties.

We fully agree with the thought expressed by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on dealing with history: pride in the achievements and accomplishments of socialism for mankind, honorable memory of the fighters for socialism and the victims of this struggle, condemnation of the violation of the principles of socialism, and—based on the whole of historical experiences—the constructive look toward the future, toward the tasks that still have to be solved.

One cannot assess history since 1917 in a scientifically exact way, if one forgets that a new epoch of world history started at that time, in which the socialist revolution and the resulting worker-peasant power constituted a life-and-death challenge for imperialism—simply because of its existence. One can discuss Soviet policy in the 1920's and 1930's and research it, but if it is pretended that the Soviet Union did not have to exist in imperialist surroundings, that it was not massively confronted with antisocialist policy, that its international situation did not result in material constraints, and that there were no enemies, counterrevolutionaries, and saboteurs within it, and that its survival was ensured from the very beginning, then such a discussion easily turns into a distortion of history.

Mind you, we do not make excuses for the reprisals and violations of laws in the past. We tried and steadfastly continue to try to clarify the fate of our comrades who fell victim to these events. We re-establish their personal integrity by making them known to the public in corresponding publications and praising their achievements. Precisely because we pledge allegiance to socialism—and support this by deeds—we are categorically dealing with distortions of our humanistic social system.

But we are obligated to see history in its true proportions. We must not permit attention to be deviated—by sometimes hysterical forms of behavior, which want to turn phenomena that are alien to socialism into something that is inherent in its nature—from the devastating wrong developments, disastrous errors, and terrible crimes which characterize the history of the system of exploitation in particular in our century: from the two world wars, which were caused by imperialism; from fascism and racism as an imperialist policy and ideology; from the use of nuclear weapons by the leading imperialist state; and from underdevelopment and starvation of entire peoples in the Third World, which is caused by financial capital. We do not let the achievements of socialism for progress in the world, for humanity, culture, and freedom, be darkened, achievements, which determine our century's place in history and confirm Mehring's prediction [Franz Mehring, 1846-1919, radical journalist, historian of the German Social Democratic Party, and biographer of Karl Marx. [passage omitted]

Honecker, Greifswald Bishop Exchange Letters

LD1907082489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1519 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—In an exchange of letters Bishop of Greifswald Dr Horst Gienke, and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker have assessed positively the joint activities performed on the occasion of the rededication of St Nicholas Cathedral, Greifswald, in an exchange of letters. [passage omitted]

In his 3 July letter, Bishop Gienke expressed gratitude for the fact that, by taking part in the church service in Greifswald [on 11 June], Erich Honecker had made unmistakeably clear to the world the desire of the state and its leading party for genuine and trusting cooperation with the Christians and churches of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker gave an assurance in his 18 July reply that the state would resolutely adhere to the letter and spirit of the 6 March 1978 meeting. [passage omitted]

FDGB's Tisch Meets OPZZ Chairman Miodowicz

AU1807174389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Steady Expansion of Relations Agreed On"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [14 July] a cordial meeting between Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union, and Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the Polish National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ), took place in Berlin. During their exchange of views, they discussed topical questions of the international trade union movement and of the preparation for the 12th International Trade Union Congress. They paid tribute to the successful cooperation between the two organizations and came out in favor of steadily expanding relations at all levels. [passage omitted]

Alfred Miodowicz outlined the current situation in the People's Republic of Poland. He reported on the topical situation of the trade unions in Poland and on the new requirements of trade union work in his country under the current conditions. Alfred Miodowicz explained the position of the country's class trade unions united in the OPZZ for stabilizing the economic situation and improving the working and living conditions of the Polish working people. At present, the OPZZ considers the overall strengthening of its enterprise trade union organizations to be its priority task in order to effectively represent the workers' interests.

The interlocutors concurrently noted that the struggle for peace and disarmament is particularly important in the representation of interests by the trade unions. They welcomed and supported the new Warsaw Pact proposals for a stable and safe Europe, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, for a substantial reduction of armed forces, armaments, and military budgets as a further step toward stabilization and the establishment of trust.

With a view to the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the start of World War II, which brought unmentionable misery and destruction to the two peoples and the people in Europe, they expressed their concern about the recent increasing neofascist and revanchist trends in the FRG and in other European countries.

The meeting took place in a comradely atmosphere, which was characterized by open-mindedness.

Oszi Queried on Warsaw Pact Meeting in Bucharest
AU1907140589 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi, by Andrej Kiss, following his return from Bucharest on 8 July; date not given: "Bucharest Days With Hungarian Eyes"]

[Text] Our delegation's special plane did not even land at Ferihegy Airport when news came of a meeting between Hungarian and Romanian leaders held in the hours prior to the departure of the Hungarian delegation from Bucharest. Although one could guess even before the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee that our completely new delegation would have 2 very exciting days in Bucharest, nobody had thought of such a meeting. According to Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, as he also expressed in his radio and television interviews, the participants succeeded in successfully concluding the Bucharest session of the Political Consultative Committee by adopting progressive documents. However, our foreign minister could not say the same about the Hungarian-Romanian summit. Hungary's representatives focused on finding solutions to the problems. However, Ceausescu rigidly refused to discuss these problems and even denied their existence. According to our foreign minister, the meeting was characterized by a violent exchange of words, including a rigid Romanian denial.

This was not characteristic of the entire Warsaw Pact meeting. In the first minutes of his return, we asked Istvan Oszi about the experiences of the last 2 days.

[Kiss] Prior to the meeting in Bucharest, Western experts claimed that success was hopeless because the individual countries members in the Warsaw Pact represent greatly differing positions. Finally, after such assumptions, was it success or failure that characterized the activity of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest?

[Oszi] The meeting was successful by all means because two substantial documents emerged at this meeting. Since foreign policy was the main issue on the agenda, the aforementioned differences of views—which I assume refer primarily to the different judgment of problems in each country's domestic construction—were not really reflected in the activity of this body.

With the exception of the Hungarian-Romanian bilateral meeting, there were no heated debates at the meeting. However, this does not mean that there were no differences of opinion. This is also obvious because the fundamental differences in the policy of individual parties were also reflected in the speeches. Therefore, in this respect, this was a multifaceted meeting.

[Kiss] Many people were surprised that essential issues were not on the agenda of the meeting, like the recently leaked news according to which our southeastern neighbor is also capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons....

[Oszi] First of all, this was an unofficial declaration. Besides, this is a matter of detail which cannot be on the agenda of such a meeting. I do not think that this had any effect on the activity of this body, because this declaration contained information about their industrial capacity. The declaration did not mention any claim that Romania was ready to produce fission material.

[Kiss] You have mentioned the two documents. Would you give us your opinion on these documents?

[Oszi] One of the current documents were prepared for the press. This document reports on the activity carried out by this body. The other document is a statement that sums up the Warsaw Pact position on world political processes, disarmament, and other basic issues. I would draw your attention to this document, not only because it is a very substantial, open, and constructive document which contains deep tolerance, tolerance that is so essential in politics, but also because, after a long time, the member countries confirmed that they did not want to select among the generally accepted norms in international relations. Probably, with the passing of time, this selective approach which we saw mainly in connection with the acceptance of responsibility stipulated in the Vienna document, will slowly disappear. I stress this because, so far, for many years we have failed to achieve this. We have always presented four or five principles, out of the ten Helsinki principles, at the request of one or several countries. It was primarily the SR of Romania which insisted that the list of principles should end somewhere at the issue of noninterference, and we should not deal with other issues. In this respect, in finalizing this document, we witnessed an "important return" if not an outright cardinal change.

[Kiss] The Hungarian delegation held several bilateral meetings. What would you stress from the agenda of these meetings?

[Oszi] It is very difficult for me to talk about this because I dealt primarily with Warsaw Pact issues and I did not participate in any of these bilateral meetings. In my view, it is an essential thing that such international meetings provide opportunities for the participating leaders to meet with each other, even in the form of informal exchanges of views. I know that the fate of the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage project was one of the major issues on the agenda of the bilateral Hungarian-CSSR meeting of the two premiers. The two sides reviewed the future schedule of coordination. The members of the Hungarian delegation also discussed the future with Soviet Premier Ryzhkov.

In addition to the invitations given to Rezso Nyers and Karoly Grosz, there is also an official visit in Moscow by the Hungarian premier on the agenda. A date in the fall is a most probable time for this visit.

[Kiss] According to Gyula Horn, the Hungarian-Romanian summit was characterized by a violent exchange of words and it actually proved totally useless.

[Oszi] We did not go to Bucharest with the intention of holding a separate Hungarian-Romanian meeting, and therefore, we did not initiate such a meeting. However, we accepted the Romanian proposal and I know that the Hungarian delegation expressed its position very firmly. In our view, progress in the issues that burden Hungarian-Romanian relations is a precondition for the development of our relations. I would mention the national minority issue in the first place, but we must also list here all those issues that hinder the normal relations between the two countries, or even make them impossible.

[Kiss] Did you consider a possible rejection of the Romanian proposal to negotiate?

[Oszi] I cannot tell you whether this possibility was considered at all, but, as I have already mentioned, we did not prepare for such a meeting. Thus, there was real possibility for a rejection. Obviously, this meeting also had another function, namely to provide Rezso Nyers with the opportunity to meet Nicolae Ceausescu, and, as far as I know, Miklos Nemeth had not met him yet either. I could also say that this was an introductory meeting.

[Kiss] According to our information, in their address, several party leaders referred to Hungary in a critical tone.

[Oszi] If I compare other opinions with that of Hungary, for example the opinions of the GDR or Romania, there is no need of a special critical tone for one to discover the differences and the fact that these positions can hardly have a common denominator. This can be interpreted as criticism or just a way in which the other side simply expressed its opinion. However, it is very important to stress that Hungary was not directly criticized by any delegation head. We must accept that the Warsaw Pact is not a forum of solving bilateral conflicts.

[Kiss] There was a moment in the meeting which we could even describe as repulsive. I mean here the fact that it was Ceausescu who remembered Janos Kadar.

[Oszi] This is an irony of fate. There is simply a matter of protocol. Since Ceausescu was the host, according to the protocol, he had to remember Janos Kadar.

Nemeth Comments on PPF, MSZMP Presidium

LD1707124889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] [Presenter] The acting presidium of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front [PPF] today consulted with government head Miklos Nemeth about topical political issues. Our reporter is Krisztina Antalffy:

[Antalffy] One of the most important tasks and endeavors of the government is to maintain a balance, in the present transitional period, between the parties, the representative institutions, and organizations. The PPF is not merely one of these organizations, but could become a determining, independent, political factor if it is able to embrace the movements, the individuals, falling outside the gravitational force of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Miklos Nemeth, prime minister, acknowledged that many justified criticisms have been leveled at the PPF. Many have considered it to be the advance bastion of the MSZMP. However, it is not true that time has overtaken it, or that it ought to dissolve itself. For even in the sixties it supported values and endeavors which were not taken on board by the politics of the time. By now it has risen to the rank of official politics.

Even so, the PPF's organization and working method must change. It must integrate all those who may not want to become parties, but who very much wish to take part in politicizing. There is a need for this even in the case of strong parties, lest a multiparty dictatorship evolve over the heads of the people. The government definitely counts on the PPF's cooperation in the preparation of decisions, in the authentication of law enactment and legislation, in the mediation of the opinions of the intelligentsia and the provinces, in the strengthening of the political and public life activity of the churches, in the support of nationality policy.

According to Miklos Nemeth, the big lesson of the Polish elections is that a power vacuum should not evolve. The MSZMP must renew itself, and in this area it is not impossible to make up for lost time. The renewal is needed also because, in the prime minister's view, a coalition without the MSZMP would be very risky.

This is where he dwelt on the question of why he accepted membership in the MSZMP Presidium at a time when the separation of the party and the state is a pressing actuality. Miklos Nemeth justified his decision by saying that with this he wanted to prevent a rift within the Central Committee, because both Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay insisted on his participation in the Presidium. Miklos Nemeth's condition, however, was that the Presidium may not take any measures influencing the work of the government. What he expects from his participation, in fact, is that the party should increasingly become the supporter of reforms, or that the party should help the work of the government.

At the Central Committee session, it was also accepted that domestic political problems can by no means be resolved by methods of coercion. No single body may abuse its organizations of coercion [as heard].

According to Miklos Nemeth, a Hungarian model based on Hungarian particularities must be created, which, if it fails, could have unforeseeable consequences on the Soviet reform process. This is by no means unequivocal vice versa.

The prime minister also informed the acting presidium of the PPF about the visit of U.S. President Bush last week and about the Bucharest meeting as well.

Fejti Comments on National Roundtable Talks

AU1807141189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with Gyorgy Fejti, member of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee, by Ferenc Gazso and Zoltan Lovas, in Parliament, on 6 July: "Comments on the National Roundtable Conference"]

[Text] The session of the so-called intermediate committee of the National Roundtable Conference was held in Parliament between 5 and 7 p.m. on 6 July. Present at the meeting were prominent representatives of our domestic political life, including Imre Pozsgay and Gyorgy Fejti, who were representing the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. After the meeting, our correspondent wanted to interview the first of these politicians, but due to the late hour Imre Pozsgay asked Gyorgy Fejti to answer our questions. This was a great pity, because the issue of the president of the Republic was also discussed at the meeting, an issue in which Imre Pozsgay is also affected as a nominee of his party, as a minister of state in charge of these issues, and also as the head of the MSZMP delegation at the talks held yesterday. Therefore, Gyorgy Fejti answered our questions as follows:

[Question] Would you tell us about the agenda of the meeting?

[Fejti] We have set up a goodwill committee in charge of eliminating controversial issues during our work and misinterpretations which could hinder the building of confidence. We have taken a step in this direction. We have agreed to wider publicity in the sense that all three negotiating sides will be able to make public their own views on the general talks at any time. In addition, we also consider it necessary to have precise documentation on the experts' talks and to also make use of the publicity provided by radio and television broadcasts in informing a wider public about the results concerning some important issues at predetermined times.

[Question] Nothing else has been discussed at the meeting?

[Fejti] Among other things, we have also perfected some procedural issues which would facilitate the activity of the experts. For example, Parliament has ordered a draft bill on the president of the republic by a specific time....

[Question] As early as in 3 months time, in October....

[Fejti] For October. This will come under the jurisdiction of the subcommittee, which is also dealing with the modification of the Constitution. I think that, since we quickly agreed on issues of constitutional law, nothing will hinder the calm and balanced activity of coordinating interests and also making sure that parliamentary decisions on this specific issue can be fulfilled.

[Question] The opposition roundtable held a meeting precisely before your meeting, and they decided that they would not accept a solution in which a decision on the function of president of the republic is made prior to the new elections, the new Parliament, and the new Constitution.

[Fejti] I still regard this as an open issue. We respect the position of the Opposition Roundtable, but only the search for compromises can justify the negotiations. This position can be accepted as a position that is valid today, but there is sense in holding negotiations only if the other sides also express their relevant arguments at the negotiating table. There are a lot of arguments in favor of setting up the institution of president of the republic before adopting the new Constitution, and the experts' working committee were set up precisely in order to consider each other's views.

[Question] At today's meeting, the MSZMP negotiating delegation was led by Imre Pozsgay. Has he also expressed his opinion on this issue?

[Fejti] Yes, he answered the questions of the Opposition Roundtable in the sense that we should discuss the law stipulating the institution and statute of the president of the republic in a professional and objective manner. In this connection, we should also discuss the timing of creating the institution of the president of the republic.

Therefore, it is still too early to lay down final and fixed positions. And here we come across a contradictory basic problem of publicity and negotiations. On the one hand, it is in the interest of each side to make sure that these negotiations are not secret. On the other hand, it is perhaps not desirable to publish final positions too early. We have not yet discussed the advantages of the institution of the president of the republic, nor the setup itself. I think that a very thorough professional debate is needed on this issue in a committee.

[Question] As far as I know, something specific has already taken place at the subcommittee level. I am talking about the I/6 committee. Here the experts agreed on three issues: the parliamentary immunity of the

participants in the roundtable conference, and on two other issues. As far as I know, this was also discussed at today's national roundtable conference....

[Fejti] Only to the extent that today's forum acquainted itself with these proposals and, since further work is needed to find certain legal formulas, we have redirected these issues to the working committee. For example, one demand by the three negotiating sides is fully justified, namely that the participants in the negotiations should not be subjected to any harassment, either political or legal, in the course of the negotiations. This would be immunity. However, a political negotiating forum, like the national roundtable, does not have the right to provide immunity to its members. This would be impossible in a constitutional state. Therefore, the basic principle is correct, but we should find a way of putting this into practice. Definitely not by having a forum say that it provides such immunity, a forum that has no right to make public law decisions.

[Question] One more methodological question: The procedural order that seems to emerge in connection with the roundtable negotiations is that the issues upon which the experts' subcommittees agreed can go on to the intermediate-level national roundtable conference and, after being accepted by this body, the only thing left is to enact the law.

[Fejti] This is true, with the addition that issues upon which the experts' subcommittee could not agree should also be submitted to the intermediate committee. This is precisely the function of this intermediate level. Of course, it is pleasing if there is already consensus on the proposals to be submitted. Therefore, concerning the future, as the professional work advances, the need for political decisions will increase because of the complexity of the issues discussed.

World Hungarian Body Protests Romanian Policy

AU1807144689 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Jul 89 p 5

[Text] The Steering Committee of the World Federation of Hungarians, a body that emerged as a result of the reorganization of the federation, welcomes the fact that representatives of Hungarians from Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Subcarpathia also participated in the general meeting. This participation expresses the spirit of the renewed federation and undoubtedly represents progress compared with the previous conditions. While we welcome this development, we also express our profound concern about the fact that representatives of Hungarians from Romania could not be present at our meeting.

In preventing the Hungarians of Transylvania from being closely linked with the universal Hungarian nation, the Romanian Government is violating the human rights stipulated in the UN decisions, the stipulations of the Helsinki Agreement, as well as the principles of cooperation and solidarity between nations and nationalities.

Today, there is more oppression than ever of the national minorities in Romania—in addition to Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Jews, and others—in order to make them give up their national culture and identity. The Steering Committee of the World Federation of Hungarians protests against the oppressive national minority policy of the government in Bucharest, a policy that strongly violates fundamental human and national minority rights at a time when the peoples of Europe are searching for the way leading to lasting cooperation in the spirit of their common responsibility and cultural heritage.

We call upon the community of nations to support the extremely endangered national minorities in Romania in preserving their culture and very existence.

Joining the appeal of other organizations, the Steering Committee of the World Federation of Hungarians expresses its solidarity with Eva Cs. Gyimesi, a university teacher at the Hungarian Department of the University of Kolozsvar [Cluj], and asks for the support of the international public in making sure that she can carry out her work freely.

Conference on Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project Opens

LD1807084289 Budapest MTI in English 1622 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—A scientific conference of experts commenced at the Political College in Budapest on Monday on the controversial Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage project. The participants are discussing the scientific survey prepared recently by an ad hoc committee of the Hungarian Acadamy of Sciences.

Hungarian Academicians Pal Stefanovits and Arpad Berczik, representatives of the ad hoc committee, told MTI that the information available is not sufficient to realistically assess the risks of the project. The committee concluded that the studies and analyses conducted so far failed to consider several important aspects and interactions. They failed to pay due attention to the protection of water quality, although three million Hungarians are drinking the filtered water of the Danube. According to experts of the Hungarian academy, the quality of water will be influenced especially by the Gabcikovo project, and the Nagymaros dam will even intensify the harmful effects.

A satisfactory survey of hazards would require a period of at least five to six years, for which the construction of the Nagymaros project should be suspended, the academicians said.

According to Vladimir Lokvenc, Czechoslovak Government commissioner of the investment, the survey prepared by the Hungarian side contains no new aspects to justify any radical measures. In his view, the 2-month period requested for the suspension has expired and it would be time to carry on with the works.

Laszlo Udvari, Hungarian Government commissioner, expressed the view that ample time should be given to both the Hungarian and the Czechoslovak scientists to study ecological hazards, therefore it would be advisable to suspend the construction of the Nagymaros barrage for a longer period. Efforts are being made to reach an agreement on all issues and the Hungarian side does not intend to take any unilateral step, Mr Udvari emphasized.

Opposition Requests Review of Project

LD1807221589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] In an open letter, the opposition roundtable has asked Premier Miklos Nemeth to review his standpoint related to the building of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. Karoly Vigh, chairman of the opposition roundtable, recalls that the discussions held by the premier in Prague on 24 May allowed the conclusion to be drawn that the review of the project would extend to the stretch of the Danube in Slovakia, as well, and that it would also lead to a rethinking of the plans for the Gabcikovo power station.

However, at the Hungarian-Czechoslovak experts' talks that began yesterday, the Hungarian delegation of scholars was given the assignment of assenting to the filling-up of the Dunakiliti reservoir, of consenting to the running of the Gabcikovo power station—true, not at peak operation—and that as opposed to this a decision should be reached on the building or abandoning of the Nagymaros power station on the basis of the Gabcikovo experiences, in 3-4 years. The Hungarian side expects, from this compromise, that intergovernment relations with Czechoslovakia will not deteriorate excessively.

However, an overly large price will have to be paid for this. The construction work endangers drinking-water supplies below Csallokoz and Szigetkoz, the drinking water of some 2.5 million people. Furthermore, if we consent to the diverting of the Danube to Czechoslovakia, this could arouse nationality tensions. In the letter, the opposition roundtable in conclusion affirms that it is ready to give all support for a preliminary assessment of expected environmental damage, and for working out responsible new agreements.

CTK Reports on Conference

LD1807085789 Prague CTK in English 1852 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest July 17 (CTK)—Hungarian and Czechoslovak experts met here today for a joint three-day conference to discuss the risks of the construction of the Nagymaros dam, part of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water system on the Danube.

The Hungarian side decided last May 13 to suspend the construction of its part of the project claiming that further expertises [preceding word as received] are needed for evaluating various consequences of the project.

Czechoslovakia is represented by a 28-member group of prominent scientists and technicians led by Vice-President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Academician Vlastimil Barus. Hungary's 29-member delegation is headed by Chairman of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences ad hoc committee Academician Pal Stefanovits.

After opening addresses of government envoys Laszlo Udvari of Hungary and Vladimir Lokvenc of Czechoslovakia, the delegates were divided into working groups to study various aspects of the construction and the reasons for Hungary's suspension of the construction. According to Laszlo Udvari, the aim of the conference is to work out a joint stand of the two countries' scientists which is to be taken into consideration in the definitive decision.

The talks of experts are expected to be followed up by talks between the two countries' Premiers Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth in Budapest on July 20.

Laszlo Udvari said in the Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG today that the costs resulting from the suspension of the Nagymaros dam construction total 100 million forints every month.

Colonel Queried on GDR Escapes Through Hungary

LD1807172489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hugarian 1400 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] According to West Berlin press reports, defenses on the Hungarian- Austrian border have been intensified, parallel with the dismantling of the electric border alarm system, and also because an increasing number of GDR citizens want to escape to Austria. (Zoltan Krudy) has spoken to Colonel Balazs Novaki of the Hungarian Border Guards:

[Begin recording] [(Novaki)] There is not one more soldier at the western border than there was 6 months or 1 year ago. But there are no more at the other borders either.

[(Krudy)] According to reports from Bonn, to date 60 GDR citizens have escaped to Austria through Hungary, but it is said that it is possible that there have been three times as many. Is there a Hungarian estimate for this?

[Novaki] As of 1 January this number of 60 people is just about right.

[(Krudy)] What is the fate of these people?

[Novaki] We simply oblige them to leave the country within a certain period of time. However, there are people who will make several attempts nevertheless.

[(Krudy)] There is no command to fire at the border?

[Novaki] No, there is not. We do not shoot, unless our guards are subject to armed attack, but that would be without precedent.

Army Official Interviewed on MiG-23 Accident

AU1807122389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Major General Istvan Schmidt, commander of the Air Force of the Hungarian People's Army, by Laszlo Kulcsar; date and place not given: "Did an Engine Fault Cause the MiG Catastrophe?"]

[Excerpts] According to Soviet Defense Minister Dimitriy Yazov, it is possible that an engine fault caused the catastrophe of the MiG-23 over Belgium on 4 July, but the final cause of the accident will be made clear only after the investigation committee makes its report. [passage omitted]

[Kulcsar] Mr General, how often does, and can, such a tragedy occur? To what extent is the MiG-23 reliable at all?

[Schmidt] We cannot talk of any frequency here as this was an unparalleled accident, as far as I can conclude from the information available to me. Besides, the MiG-23 is a fighter plane introduced in the seventies, and we call it a third-generation fighter plane still regarded as a modern fighter, although the fourth generation emerged some time ago and, understandably, this new model is preferred now in the various armies.

[Kulcsar] Technically, how was it possible for the MiG-23 to continue its flight without its pilot over Polish, GDR, FRG, and Belgian airspace, up to the vicinity of the French border?

[Schmidt] By all means, this was an accidental coincidence: The plane had enough fuel and the automatic pilot steered the plane in a straight line. [passage omitted]

[Kulcsar] Why did the antiaircraft units of all these countries not shoot it down while the plane was flying in their airspace?

[Schmidt] Let me give you an answer on the basis of Hungarian experience: We have not yet shot down any airplane in our airspace. It is an extremely great responsibility to destroy a strange flying object without the commander being aware of what type of airplane it really is, and such an action is inadmissible under the current international political circumstances. The airspace is full of airplanes of various sizes, and the man sitting at the radar screen is unable to decide whether this is a fighter plane or a medium-sized passenger airplane. It is another matter if interceptor pilots follow the airplane in question and get a clear answer. Even in such a case, a decision to shoot is not desirable because one cannot calculate the spread of debris. [passage omitted]

[Kulcsar] How can we avoid such accidents and a situation in which the countries in question might regard such a case as an attack, and panic, and counterattack?

[Schmidt] In any case, a direct information link is needed in order to increase the confidence between the two military blocs and to provide immediate mutual information.

Control Committee President Leaves for USSR

LD1807151189 Budapest MTI in English 1349 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 18 (MTI)—Janos Lukacs, president of the Central Control Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, left for the Soviet Union on Tuesday at the head of a delegation.

Mr Lukacs is meeting an invitation from the party Control Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Medgyessy Begins Talks With Serbian Leader

LD1807125689 Budapest MTI in English 1114 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 18, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Peter Medgyessy, Hungarian deputy prime minister, and Desimir Jevtic, president of the Serbian government, began talks in Budapest on Monday aimed at strengthening Hungarian-Serbian economic ties.

Hungarian-Serbian trade amounted to USD [U.S. dollars] 195.9 million, with Hungarian export reaching 103 million. In the first quarter of the year, Hungarian deliveries amounted to USD 20.3 million, and Serbian 18.2 million.

Serbia has a 40-per-cent share of Hungarian-Yugoslavian bilateral trade. Additionally, the province of Vojvodina, which borders on Hungary and belongs to the republic of Serbia, accounts for another 20 percent, for a total of 60 percent. A fifth of the trade with Vojvodina, worth about USD 26.5 million, comes from trading in the borderline zone neighbouring Hungary.

Some 70 per cent of Hungarian-Serbian trade is regulated by long-term agreements, primarily in the engineering and chemical industries.

For the next three years, the "Technika" company of Budapest and the October 14th machine works of Krusevac concluded a skeleton agreement worth USD 10 million to both sides, to manufacture road-building machines. Talks are under way between Dinara of Serbia and the Ganz electric works of Hungary about the joint manufacture of trolleybuses.

Szuros Receives Serbian Leader

LD1907035289 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 18 (MTI)—Desimir Jevtich, president of the Serbian Government and Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian Parliament met for talks in the parliament building on Tuesday [18 July].

The sides established that traditional good-neighbourly relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia. Mr Szuors pointed out that the national minorities living in each others' countries play a bridging role in the fostering of relations which requires continuous attention.

Szuros Holds Talks with Syrian Delegation

LD1807082889 Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—The Syrian delegation headed by Zuhayr Mashariqah, deputy president of the National Progressive Front and vice-president of the Syrian Arab Republic, met Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, in Budapest on Monday. The delegation is paying a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Patriotic People's Front.

It was emphasized that, based on results and experience gained so far, endeavours would be made for improving bilateral cooperation. Mr Szuros extended his personal regards and an invitation to visit Hungary to the president of the Syrian People's Council.

Mr Mashariqah was also received on Monday by Rezso Trautmann, deputy president of the Presidential Council.

On Monday, the Syrian delegation started talks with the delegation of the Hungarian People's Front is headed [as received] by Istvan Huszar, president-general secretary.

Nemeth Receives Billy Graham's Envoy Haraszti

LD1807152589 Budapest MTI in English 1350 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 18 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in his office on Tuesday, Dr Sandor Haraszti, personal representative of Billy Graham in charge of Eastern European affairs.

Mr Haraszti forwarded the greetings of the American Baptist evangelist, who is scheduled to arrive in Budapest on July 25.

Nemeth Holds Talks With FRG Businessman

LD1807153389 Budapest MTI in English 1423 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 18 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met on Tuesday in Parliament, Josef von Ferenczy, owner of the Ferenczy press agency operating in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Mr Ferenczy voiced his readiness to contribute to popularizing the Hungarian reforms and the main tendencies of the Hungarian transformation in the FRG. He informed the prime minister he would propose the president of the National Bank of Hungary set up a consultation office in Munich, in joint ownership.

Austria Aided in Establishment of Media Firm

AU0807194189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 8 Jul 89 p 5

[APA report: "Agreement Between Austrian and Hungarian Radio"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—While the controversy over the monopoly of the Austrian Radio and Television Service (ORF) continues in Austria and within the Socialist Party of Austria, an Austrian-Hungarian agreement on founding the so-called "Pannonia Media Corporation," which wants to launch the first private, commercial radio station in Hungary, was concluded on Wednesday [5 July]. Interests in the Pannonia Media Corporation are held by MBB Holding (whose manager is Herbert Vytiska, the former press spokesman of the Austrian People's Party), Hungarian Mail, and a private citizen from Hungary. [passage omitted]

Telecommunications Joint Venture With Austria

AU1307083689 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 13 Jul 89 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Joint Venture"]

[Text] Austria Telecommunications, a subsidiary of the Schrack AG company and the Kapsch AG company, together with the Budapest Telecommunications Works, has established an export distribution company for the ADS digital switching system.

Portuguese Justice Minister Visits Budapest

PM1307101489 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 7 Jul 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Fernando Nogueira in Budapest: Hungary Proposes Legal Accord to Portugal"]

[Excerpt] Hungary proposed to Portugal the establishment of a legal assistance agreement during yesterday's talks in Budapest with Portuguese Justice Minister Fernando Nogueira, who is on an official visit to the country. The suggestion was made by his opposite number in the Hungarian Government, Kalman Kulcsar.

At the meeting of the two ministers, Fernando Nogueira handed his Hungarian counterpart the text of an extradition agreement currently being drawn up. It was suggested that it could be signed during the Portuguese president's visit to Hungary.

For his part, the Hungarian minister briefed his Portuguese counterpart on the various thorough legislative reforms under way, stressing the commitment to seeking

a constitutional model, a model for free elections to be adopted in his country, and a model for how the president of the Republic should be elected.

Apart from the work on reforming the penal code, the Hungarian side briefed the Portuguese delegation on the changes already made or planned in economic legislation and the courts, so as to guarantee them independence and greater efficiency. The Budapest leaders also stressed their desire to ensure a multi-party system in the country, personal freedom, and free elections, and to direct the planned economy toward a market system.

Fernando Nogueira's meeting with State Minister Imre Pozsgay was cancelled, owing to the death of former Hungarian President Janos Kadar. [passage omitted]

Delegation Departs for Nicaragua for Celebrations
AU1507160489 Budapest MTI in English
1542 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 15 (MTI)—On Saturday, a delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] left for Managua to attend the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Sandinista revolution and the international seminar.

The delegation includes Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Central Committee, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, and Laszlo Major, member of the Central Committee, head of the Central Committee office.

Further on Jaruzelski's Presidential Candidacy

Kiszczak Announces Support

LD1807142489 Warsaw PAP in English 1351 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] Political Bureau member, interior minister, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak has sent to PAP the following statement:

I welcome with deep satisfaction Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's consent to run for Poland's president. Many a time, also in an interview for PAP on this July 2 as well as at numerous talks and meetings, I voiced the conviction that it is the best of possible candidatures for this honourable but very responsible state post.

I ask all those who were going to vote for my candidature in case it was formally forwarded to cast their votes for the candidature of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Meeting With Opposition Denied

LD1807173289 Warsaw PAP in English 1652 GMT 18 Jul 89

["Statement by Spokesman for President of Council of State"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—In connection with reports by Western mass media on a meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club on July 17 spokesman for the president of the Council of State, Lieutenant Colonel Wieslaw Gornicki has sent to PAP the following explanation:

Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the Citizens' Parliamentary Club behind closed doors, following their mutual agreement. Newsmen were not invited to attend the meeting. There is a sphere of issues which are not to be discussed in the presence of representatives of the press and TV.

General Jaruzelski's statements were interpreted freely and groundlessly in a sensational way or even essentially distorted by some Western agencies, this especially referring to some aspects of Polish-Soviet relations. I do not know sources on which Western agencies' journalists based their reports. I have been authorized to deny them.

Christian Union Gives Backing

LD1807175289 Warsaw PAP in English 1653 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—The Sejm floor group of the Christian Social Union (UCHS) held a meeting today devoted to preparations for the sitting of the National Assembly which is to elect Poland's president.

The meeting decided to back the candidacy of Wojciech Jaruzelski. It got acquainted with the arrangements of the inter-floor-group team concerning the draft regulations of the National Assembly's debates, including the manner of voting.

The UCHS floor group received with satisfaction the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See.

Participants in the meeting acquainted themselves with the information accessible to-date on the death of Father Zych. They expressed a firm disapproval in connection with a television programme which "reconstructed" Father Zych's last hours in a manipulatory, one-sided, and tendentious way. It was decided that the way in which the television informs the society would be the subject of one of the coming meetings of the floor group and of the union's authorities.

Jaruzelski Makes Statement on Candidacy

LD1807191289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party Parliamentary Floor Group held a meeting today. The deputies awaited the final decision of Wojciech Jaruzelski concerning his candidacy for the post of the president of Poland. The general arrived at the meeting directly following a meeting of the Politburo, and made the following statement:

On 30 June I announced my withdrawal as a candidate for the office of President of the Polish People's Republic. The Central Committee and PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group asked me then to reconsider. Also, several events have occurred and there are new circumstances resulting from them. My candidacy was supported by the United Peasants Party Supreme Committee, the Democratic Party Central Committee, and the leaderships of the PAX Association, the Social and Christian Union, and the Polish Catholic and Social Union. A known stance was adopted by members of the Consultative Council of the Chairman of the Council of State and the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense.

I have received, in connection with this issue, many resolutions from party echelons and organizations, social and trade union organizations and associations, and very many letters from citizens. I am aware of many opinions and statements by people of high social standing.

On the 14th of this month I met with the parliamentary floor groups of the coalition, and yesterday I met with members of the citizens parliamentary floor group. The conclusions which flow from these events, facts, and circumstances are varied. Generally speaking, there are numerous and often sincere expressions of encouragement, trust, and support, but there also are negative opinions, which are often phrased in an emotional manner. I see it as understandable and as linked to the openness and democratization of political life.

Arguments were brought to bear in order to change my decision, most of which cannot be ignored. It was pointed out that there is a need to maintain continuity in the functioning of the state, and concern was expressed about its stability. Also, there was strong mention made of the international dimension. It was universally stressed that avoidance of responsibility at this time would be contrary to my duty as a politician and a soldier, and to the logic of my service to the public in recent years.

For various reasons this is not an easy decision for me. I have decided, however, after considering in depth all the facts and circumstances and guided only by a sense of duty, to accept the proposal of all the coalition groups and to announce my agreement to stand for the office of the president of the Polish People's Republic. I also state that if the National Assembly grants me this very responsible and lofty function, then I will concentrate my activity on carrying it out.

At the same time, being aware that the result of the vote in the National Assembly could be disadvantageous for me, I request that, if such a situation arises, the necessary support be given to General Czeslaw Kiszczak.

Jaruzelski Interviewed on TV

LD1807192689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, by unidentified reporter on 18 July—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] General, in your statement you explained in great detail the arguments which determined the fact that you agreed to stand as a candidate. However, apart from these official arguments, what else determined your decision? I know that you received many letters and telegrams. Which of them do you remember most?

[Jaruzelski] Indeed, I have received many letters which I have treated with great seriousness. Some of them were even touching and, I must admit, very valuable to me as an expression of trust, support, and encouragement. I think that the assessments expressed in them were exaggerated. They overestimated both my merits and capabilities, but I perceive them as a manifestation of human friendliness toward me and I value them very much. I would also like to emphasize that to a great extent they persuaded me to consent to be a candidate for the post of president.

[Reporter] So, there wasn't one specific element which tipped the balance?

[Jaruzelski] According to dialectics, quantity becomes transformed into quality. One can talk about many facts, both political and human facts, which accumulated during the recent weeks in a sense. I think that they reached a certain quality which allowed me to make this decision.

[Reporter] Are you conscious of the fact that any president in this difficult period would have an extremely difficult task to perform?

[Jaruzelski] Undoubtedly, I am conscious of this fact.

Jaruzelski Calls for 'Dialogue'

LD1807193489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] During a meeting with the Polish United Workers Party Parliamentary Floor Group Wojciech Jaruzelski shared his reflections from meetings with various other parliamentary floor groups. He stated that in a pluralist society it is necessary to give equal attention to the voices of people who represent different political (?actions), while maintaining a difference of views and beliefs on the correctness of reasons and programs, to search for a common denominator on issues deciding the fate of Poland. If such a dialogue is to be possible it is necessary to free oneself from the current cliches.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] It is time to put to an end to how we began things in People's Poland—on the one hand with the slogan filthy reactionary dwarf and on the other hand lackeys of Moscow, or later, counterrevolutionary extremists and on the other side red spiders. And so on and on, endlessly. The point is to finally get to an honest conclusion that there is no monopoly of love of the fatherland and that everyone has the right to their own views on how they see the good of the fatherland, but in a final reckoning what counts is the result, its effect. [end recording]

Jaruzelski Meets Sejm Leaders

LD1807194189 Warsaw PAP in English 1837 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—Poland's President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with the speaker of the Sejm Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and the speaker of the Senate Andrzej Stelmachowski.

During the conversation Jaruzelski informed them about the change of his decision and his intention to run for Poland's president.

Parties' Commission Approves Candidacy

LD1807194989 Warsaw PAP in English 1852 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18: A meeting of the Central Coordination Commission of the Polish United Workers Party, the United Peasants Party, the Democratic Party, PAX association, the Christian-Social Union (UCHS), and the Polish Catholic-Social Union (PZKA) was held here today.

Wojciech Jaruzelski informed the commission about his consent to run for Poland's President. The commission expressed full approval and support for the decision.

The meeting also got acquainted with the draft agreement on the cooperation within the coalition. The agreement is to secure a new quality of relations between all its participants.

Opposition Caucus Calls for Open Ballot

LD1807215889 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—The citizens' parliamentary floor group at a meeting held here today on the eve of the National Assembly, discussed the deputies and senators' stand on the election of the president, and in particular, their attitude to the candidature of Wojciech Jaruzelski. After many hours' debate during which the gathered considered in detail various options as to the upcoming elections, it was decided, in tune with earlier agreements, to let the floor group members decide freely, in accordance with their own conscience.

The arguments for that solution included also consequences of prolonging the constitutional crisis caused by the delay in electing the president, and consequences stemming for the opposition-Solidarity side from the round table agreements.

The floor group, reiterating its earlier stance, declared itself again for electing the president in open ballot by call. It also stated once again that it should be possible for representatives of all floor groups to make statements and put questions to the candidate for the president.

Chairman of the floor group deputy Bronislav Geremek was authorized to take floor to present this issue in the name of the citizens' floor group.

Assessments of Bush Visit, Talks Continue

Olechowski Statement

AU1807132189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 89 p 4

[Statement made to PAP by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski: "Talks at the Belvedere Palace"]

[Text] This is an important and opportune visit. Politics have largely been kept out of the matters discussed. There is clear confirmation of the deep interest in the changes that Poland is currently undergoing. We have also received declarations of readiness to help our economic efforts in Poland, as well as on the international arena. The United States has stated that it desires to be the "pilot"—that is to say, the country which will propose to the most advanced industrialized countries, the "Seven," a coordinated course of action to take with regard to Poland. This accords with our expectations. We are not counting on a downpour of money, but are rather hoping for more favorable terms in our agreements with the IMF, the World Bank, and help to spread out the repayment of the debt owed to the Paris Club.

Onyszkiewicz Statement

AU1807141789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jul 89 p 5

[PAP headline: "Statement by Janusz Onyszkiewicz on the Visit by the President of the United States"]

[Text] Janusz Onyszkiewicz said the following in a statement that was supplied to the press:

During his visit to Poland, President George Bush once again showed that he is not only a friend of Poland and the Polish people, but that he also has a thorough understanding of our problems and our aspirations and that he and the entire American people share our love of freedom and democracy. It is particularly worth noting how often and how clearly President George Bush expressed the idea that the changes that are taking place in Poland are not only important for us, the Poles, but also for the whole of Europe, and even for the whole world, and that all democratic countries should afford these changes assistance and support.

The economic assistance that was announced by the United States provides grounds for hoping that the industrialized democratic countries will rapidly formulate and implement a common aid program for reforming the Polish economy and that the Polish debt problem will be solved.

President Bush's visit has once again confirmed that the Polish people have friends in the West that they can count on. This also provides grounds for hoping that the historic opportunity that countries in our part of the world have for a peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy will not be lost.

10-11 Jul Press Comment

AU1407135989

[Editorial Report] The Warsaw central dailies TRYBUNA LUDU, RZECZPOSPOLITA, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish on 10 and 11 July and SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish on 11 July carry extensive comment by staffers on the visit to Poland by President Bush. Commentators emphasize that the visit is of great political significance in terms of the support it accords the Polish reform process and as a reflection of the vastly improved climate in East-West relations. Poland's pressing need for Western financial aid in order to revive its economy is highlighted, but there is at the same time recognition that such aid will be based on economic realism.

TRYBUNA LUDU on 10 July carries on pages 1 and 2 a 600-word commentary by Wlodzimierz Lozinski, headlined "Warsaw's Warm Welcome," suggesting that the visit will mark a turning-point in bilateral relations. He writes that the purpose of the visit is "to lay new foundations for Polish-American cooperation. What is

needed are foundations which will help in overcoming the difficulties our country is experiencing, and help in the construction of a new Europe based on mutual trust and understanding."

An unattributed 250-word commentary carried on pages 1 and 2 of RZECZPOSPOLITA on 10 July under the headline "For the Second Time" stresses the timing of the visit and states: "Our esteemed guest is visiting Poland at a particularly important time that sees historic changes taking place in our country and the abandonment of old models in international politics in favor of a philosophy of cooperation and moving closer together." A 900-word commentary by Ryszard Bankowicz that appears on pages 1 and 2 of ZYCIE WARSAWY of 10 July under the headline "A Favorable Time" elaborates on this. The commentator notes that "a new stage is beginning in relations between our two countries" and that "there is international support for the changes that are taking place in Poland, because they promote European cooperation that extends beyond borders and remove the divisions whose effects also constitute a painful burden for us. Broader Polish involvement in the process of European integration strengthens the feeling of security on the continent and lies in the interest of detente." In a 1,700-word, largely factual article on pages 1 and 2 of SZTANDAR MLODYCH of 10 July under the headline "A Visit Full of Expectations," M. Rudzinski focuses on the question of economic aid and states "Poland hopes that the United States, as it has promised on so many occasions, will make concrete moves aimed at helping Poland to implement the reforms that are currently under way."

A comment on the aid proposals announced by President Bush appears in the central dailies of 11 July.

In a 400-word commentary that appears on page 1 of RZECZPOSPOLITA under the headline "What We Can Count On," Maksymilian Berezowski writes "I would consider the most valuable American contribution to financial matters to be Bush's promise that he would state Poland's case at the summit of the seven richest Western states (which will take place in Paris this week) and ask the participants to ease debt repayment." Wlodzimierz Lozinski, in a 930-word commentary entitled "On a Good Road" on pages 1 and 2 of TRYBUNA LUDU, says "we should discard wild illusions" concerning aid and quoting Wieslaw Gornicki, Jaruzelski's spokesman, he writes "the 'days of giving presents ended a long time ago'" and people should be reminded that "the Americans do not think that they are doing Poland a favor." He states that "it pays for the United States to 'invest' in Poland, and to invest a certain amount of political capital in particular."

SZTANDAR MLODYCH carries a 600-word commentary, headlined "SZTANDAR MLODYCH Comments" on pages 1 and 2 by Marek Rudzinski, who believes that the basic message of the visit is conveyed by the words "You are heading in the right direction. Help yourselves, and we will try to help you," and he concludes "let us hope that the aid will be as active as the sanctions that were imposed on us a few years ago for going in the wrong direction." Michal Kolodziejczyk, whose 900-word commentary appears on page 6 of SLOWO POWSZECHNE of 11 July under the headline "The Editor Michal Kolodziejczak Comments," also notes the emphasis on self-help, and maintains that Poles have realistic expectations: "I think that we were all realists before the visit and we were not counting on the automatic setting in motion of channels through which American gold would pour into Poland."

Generally, press comment does not consider the impact of President Bush's visit on relations between the Polish population and the authorities. However, although no explicit reference is made to the President's visit, a 590-word commentary by Zygmunt Slomkowski that appears on page 4 of TRYBUNA LUDU of 11 July under the headline "Dramas, Monuments, and Flowers" seems to indicate some official concern that President Bush's presence at certain sites connected with tragic events in Polish history could provoke tension. Slomkowski writes that "it has become the accepted custom that foreign dignitaries lay wreaths and flowers at those places where the performance of such an act cannot give rise to any ambiguity as to its intent" and "it is only by allowing each country its unfettered and sovereign right to pass judgment on its past and its most tragic moments that one can most effectively avoid getting oneself into a situation which could lead to these dramas and conflicts between brothers."

13-16 Jul Press Comment

AU1807132289

[Editorial Report] The Warsaw central dailies RZECZPOSPOLITA on 13 July, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI on 15-16 Jul, ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 13 July, 15-16 July, SLOWO POWSZECHNE on 14-16 July, and SZTANDAR MLODYCH on 14-16 July in Polish carry comment by staffers on President Bush's visit to Poland. Comment can be said to contain two main themes. First; the visit, which is seen as marking a watershed in Polish-American relations, is deemed to signify recognition for Wojciech Jaruzelski's role in instituting reform and approval of the evolutionary form that reform is taking. Some commentators cite this as a strong argument in favor of Jaruzelski's election to the office of president. Second; commentators note that both the authorities and the opposition feel some disappointment over the level of direct American economic aid and underscore that Poland requires Western help in order to maintain stability, which is of more than solely Polish domestic importance.

In a 2,500-word article entitled "Bush in Polish" that appears on page 8 of SZTANDAR MLODYCH of 14-16 July, Marek Rudzinski observes that "surely the most surprising aspect of the visit was the genuine, unconcealed warmth that the President of the United States displayed

toward Wojciech Jaruzelski" and "Secretary of State Baker talked about a certain psychological rapport between the two statesmen." The author concludes that, although the President talked openly about the decline of communism and Poland's return to the Western democracies, he "did much to support W. Jaruzelski's candidacy for the office of president." Wieslaw Rogowski arrives at a similar conclusion in a 700-word commentary entitled "Continuity and Security" that appears on page 4 of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI of 15-16 July. Writing about Jaruzelski as a possible president, he states that "both Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush are full of respect for him; they trust him and appreciate his commitment to the fatherland...." Rogowski also notes that "a few days ago, U.S. President George Bush said in Warsaw that the present leaders of Poland—and he was thinking of Wojciech Jaruzelski—were those who could best lead the country to a new future."

Economic aid is the main topic of the 1,500-word commentary signed "m.k." and headlined "Our Commentary" that appears on pages 1 and 2 of SLOWO POWSZECHNE of 14-16 July. The author states that "the limited scope of the direct U.S. economic aid to Poland has prompted some measure of bitterness within the leadership" of Solidarity and that "representatives of the authorities and the opposition spoke with one voice on economic issues and made it clear that what we have been offered represents a good beginning, but that Poland's needs at this stage of the reforms are significantly greater, especially when one considers that our country's economic structures are initially much less suited for change geared toward a free market economy than those that exist in Hungary, for example." He writes that the visit was about providing answers to questions, the most important of which was "will Western economic aid, which is the key to the attainment of economic stability and the further development of reform, be sufficiently great to ensure political stability, which is of such importance from the viewpoint of the future of all of Eastern Europe?" The author concludes that "we are still waiting for a more concrete answer to this question. Let us hope that it will come as quickly as possible."

Ryszard Bankowicz, in a 1,800-word commentary entitled "New Foundations for Cooperation" that appears on page 5 of ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 13 July, writes that "the economic offer may give the impression of being insufficient," but "it is worth pointing out that the American offer is unprecedented in relations between the United States and the socialist countries." Commenting on the implications of economic aid, Makysmilian Berezowski, in a 1,200-word commentary headlined "Symbols and Reality" that appears on pages 1 and 5 of RZECZPOSPOLITA of 13 July, states that "we indicated to our American visitors that it lies in their interest to see Poland emerge from its financial crisis in as calm a manner as possible, because, viewing things objectively, Poland is a cornerstone of European stability and security." Zbigniew Ramotowski, who draws parallels between the visits to Poland by the Soviet and American heads of state in a 1,200-word commentary entitled "Two Pillars" that appears on page 7 of ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 15-16 July, considers that the improvement in relations between Poland and the United States and between Poland and Gorbachev's Soviet Union enables Poland to become "a bridge between East and West."

Finance Director on U.S. Aid

AU1807121389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with Wladyslaw Czulno, director of the foreign department of the Ministry of Finance by Janusz Kotarsk; date and place not given: "Economic Aid Cannot Be a Substitute for Poland's Own Effort"]

[Excerpts] The economic aid program for Poland and Hungary was announced by President Bush in his Hamtramck speech. In the speech, given before the Polish National Assembly, the President stated, among other things, that " we have made progress in relation to the steps announced in Hamtramck and we are sticking to them." Janusz Kotarski interviewed Wladyslaw Czulno, director of the foreign department of the Ministry of Finance, recently returned from talks in Washington, on the subject of George Bush's package of economic proposals for Poland.

[Kotarski] Could you remind us what steps the President was referring to and what progress there has been to date?

[Czulno] I think we are seeing a qualitative change in the approach that the American Administration is taking in relation to our economic problems. As concerns his Hamtramck speech, President Bush referred to, among other things, the so-called Organization for Private Investment Credits guarantees. These guarantees are given by the United States Government to its businessmen who want to invest in Poland. This will make such investment more attractive by increasing investors' security. A draft regulation in this matter has been sent to the U.S. Congress by the American Administration. [passage omitted]

Decisions on giving Poland preferential tariff treatment have now been made. This means that Polish exports are made much easier and the profitability of such exports is increased.

The President has also mentioned aid of $100 million to be channeled through the U.S. Government Agency for International Development. Such aid, which is nonrefundable, is given directly to the government of the particular country and is free of conditions. Going by past American practices in relation to other countries, it seems that such assistance is not necessarily given on a one-shot basis, but can be given repeatedly.

[Kotarski] The extent of support for Polish economic reforms was clearly enlarged by President Bush in his speech before the National Assembly on Monday [10 July]. How would you define this support?

[Czulno] This support seems to have a dual character. Much of it is related to our indebtedness, and we have to consider it by looking at the changes occurring against this background.

In my opinion, the position of the West is as follows: If Poland agrees on an adaptation program with the IMF, that is to say if the Polish propositions are in line with what the IMF expects, then this may facilitate a new approach to the question of credit. [passage omitted]

I must stress that the key element in the adaptation program, according to the IMF, is the restoration of the internal equilibrium, liberalization of prices, privatisation, and the limitation of subsidies. [passage omitted]

Analyzing the President's proposals in this context, one could say that he promised support for measures which will facilitate the acceptance of the adaptation program. He stressed quite clearly that "economic aid can be no substitute for self-effort."

[Kotarski] The President also promised to intervene on Poland's behalf at the meeting of the "Seven" in order to "quickly and substantially postpone Poland's debt repayments." A sum of $5 billion was mentioned. Can you explain where this sum comes from?

[Czulno] We have to go back in time to see where this figure comes from and to recall that in past years the successive agreements relating to the repayment conditions attached to the loans guaranteed by the foreign governments secured the postponement of the repayments. As a result of these agreements, the amount of the repayments due for 1989 is exactly $5,229 million. It would be very beneficial to substantially postpone this repayment and to have a single form of agreement with all the creditor governments. Presently, all those governments with which Poland has separate agreements, for formal reasons, are unable to give further guarantees for credits to Poland. A collective, single form of agreement may surmount this problem. [passage omitted]

[Kotarski] The remaining items of President Bush's package are not so directly linked to the IMF program....

[Czulno] In my opinion George Bush's statement that he wants to bring greater technical help is specially important. In the case of the United States this means, above all, a relaxation of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls regulations which limit certain countries that are not politically allied to America from having access to the most up to date technology. Another important aspect is the $100 million aid to help the development of the private sector. This can be seen in the context of implementing an equality of economic sectors in Poland, where private industry and trade are quite clearly underfunded. [passage omitted]

To conclude, I would like to say that the chances of really benefiting from this program depend in a large measure on accelerating the process of reforms and on a total and most effective concentration on those economic assets that the Polish economy possesses.

Background to USSR Pullout Described

LD1807161689 Warsaw PAP in English 1508 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18: "A Soviet independent battalion of trucks and a training regiment of tanks have already been pulled out from Poland. We know for sure that a regiment of anti-aircraft rockets, a regiment of helicopters, and an independent battalion of chemical defence are also envisaged for pullout," Sergey Rogov, the head of the Department for Military Affairs of the Institute of the U.S. and Canada of the Soviet Academy of Sciences who is also a deputy chairman of the Social Group for Control of the Reduction of the Soviet Army told a reporter of the GAZETA LUBUSKA daily issued in Zielona Gora.

"A few members of our group have arrived in Poland," Rogov elaborated, "to examine the process of withdrawing some units of the Northern Group of Troops of the Soviet Army back to the territory of the USSR. It has been the seventh trip of the group's members. We have already been to the GDR where we saw the withdrawal of the 25th and 32nd armoured division, we watched the pulling out of the 13th armoured division from Hungary, we have been travelling to Czechoslovakia and Mongolia. According to our data, more than 3,000 tanks, some 600 artillery guns, over 40 planes, and some 26,000 soldiers have been withdrawn from the territories of those five countries to-date. Please note that the Soviet Union, in connection with its new doctrine, is withdrawing its units mainly from the border line of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. They are chiefly armoured units, that is having an offensive character. And the units which are not being withdrawn are being re-armed: tanks—ofensive weapons are being pulled out while antitank means—defensive weapons are being introduced. [sentence as received]

"These three withdrawn armoured divisions will be disbanded as early as August on the territory of the Kiev and Odessa military districts. In the next year another three tank divisions will be reduced but the exact date of the operation has not been fixed yet," Rogov continued.

"We think that the international community should have a possibility of controlling the process of disarmament. Our opinion is that were an agreement to be signed in Vienna on a multilateral reduction of troops, the arrangements should concern not only the control by the military of the two blocs but also by the international community," said the representative of the group which is financed by the Soviet Fund of Peace.

'Multilateral Approach' of Pact Meeting Hailed

AU1807163989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 89 p 7

[Ryszard Drecki commentary: "Continuing Offer of Dialogue and Cooperation"]

[Text] The communique and the statement "For a Stable, Secure Europe, Free From Nuclear and Chemical Weapons: For a Real Reduction of Armed Forces, Arms, and Military Expenditure" are two documents which are the fruit of the Bucharest deliberations of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states. What is striking about these two documents is their breadth and the multilateral approach to the subject, coupled with the depth of the analysis of the problems. Not one of the important European and world issues has been omitted.

This multilateral quality, coupled with the decision made in Bucharest "to politically strengthen the nature of the Warsaw Pact and democratically perfect the mechanisms of cooperation in its framework" confirms the changes which have been evident for some time now in the way the socialist coalition has been functioning. The political function of the Warsaw Pact has been increasingly stressed, a pact which is clearly emerging as a political platform of cooperation between the member states; a pact which is not just a military, defensive alliance, but one that is becoming a mechanism for the joint tasks which emerge in the course of the development of international life.

Among the tasks which the Bucharest documents highlight is the problem concerned with disarmament, an element which accords with the present policy of the socialist countries. This thinking can be summarized in the following way: The aim is to achieve a decisive breakthrough in the sphere of disarmament which, in spite of definite progress, has not occurred. This breakthrough should lead to the preservation of a military balance on a minimum level, which would be sufficient for defense, but would preclude the capacity for sudden aggression or offensive action on a large scale. This would minimize the danger of war.

Among the immediate short-range tasks, the allied countries meeting in Bucharest have stressed the necessity of speeding up work on a convention that would completely ban chemical weapons, radically reduce conventional forces, and solve the question of nuclear weapons in Europe. Especially interesting is the suggestion to create an actual advisory-information center to reduce the danger of war and sudden aggression in Europe. There is talk of calling the leaders of the 35 CSCE countries to a conference devoted to disarmament and security.

The importance of joint or individual disarmament efforts of a more regional nature was confirmed. The Jaruzelski Plan belongs to this category of initiatives, having as its aim disarmament and increased trust in central Europe.

Giving priority to disarmament affairs in the building of a lasting European peace, the Political Consultative Committee has also expressed a general view on the development of other forms of cooperation in other European spheres, namely, economic, scientific, technical, protection of the environment, humanitarian relations, personal contacts, culture, education, and human rights...

The two documents strongly stress that the creation of the common European home requires the acceptance of the prevailing territorial and political realities, the inviolability of boundaries, and the sovereignty of states. "The participants" we read, among other things, "have stressed the necessity to reject all forms of revanchism and chauvinism, all forms of antagonism between nations. This fact is important at a time there are voices in the FRG proclaiming that "the Third Reich still exists in its 1937 boundaries."

The documents from Bucharest crystallize the current socialist thinking on the various tasks and aims to preserve the positive transformations in international relations, to build peace in Europe, and represent a continuing offer of dialogue and cooperation which the Warsaw Pact countries have always advocated. The Bucharest conference reaffirms the role of the Warsaw Pact as a structure which links a continuing anxiety for the security of its member states with the function of a more active factor in the development of cooperation between East and West, and specially on the European arena.

Official's Statement on Priest's Autopsy

LD1807204889 Warsaw PAP in English 1834 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Elblag, July 18—GAZETA WYBORCZA published today a statement of the provisional regional board of solidarity in Elblag, concerning the communique of the prosecutor's office on the autopsy of Father Sylwester Zych. The statement accuses the communique of being tendentious because "It does not say first of all of numerous injuries of the head, face, nose, neck, and left arm which could not have all been caused by a fall and did not cause the death of Father Zych, either."

Here is a statement of Wojciech Mazurek who is in charge of the investigation on behalf of the regional prosecutor's office in Elblag:

At the second autopsy of the late Father Sylwester Zych, carried out on July 14, 1989 in the Department of Forensic Medicine of the Medical Academy in Gdansk, the following injuries, among others, were found on the face of the deceased: Dispersed, small abrasions of outer skin of varying shape, located on various parts of face—

on cheeks, nose, chin, and forehead. The traces are evidence of minor injuries which might have been caused by pressing, light strokes, and scratching.

These traces might have been caused by reanimation efforts which were undertaken after the priest had been found at a bus station in Krynica Morska for at that moment the "ambu" apparatus for lung ventilation was fastened to his face and his head was being held. Other traces that have been found include under-skin effusions located in the front crown and left temple of the head. No injuries of internal and external parts of lips, nor any other injuries of major importance have been found.

The protocol of the autopsy will only be made after histopathological tests are completed, said Mazurek, that is around 26 July.

Episcopate Statement on Renewal of Vatican Ties

LD1807055389 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Poland's Episcopate's secretariat has sent to PAP a statement in connection with the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican. It says, in part:

"Polish priests with entire society welcome with great joy the information on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See as of July 17. This day will be recorded in the history of the church and the Polish state as momentous.

"Diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See have a very long tradition.

"The period of enslavement (from end of 18th c. till 1918 -ed.) stopped the activity of a nunciature in Poland. It was rebuilt as the nunciature of the first class in 1919, shortly after the Polish State regained independence. Its activity was again stopped as a result of World War Two. After the end of war hostilities in 1945 am Apostolic Nuncio could no longer come to Warsaw.

"The act regulating legal relations between the church and the state, adopted by the Sejm on last May 17 and worded by the Joint Commission of Representatives of the government and the episcopate, and also significant political and economic transformations taking place in Poland, particularly recently, have created today conditions for reestablishing diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See. It is in this way that many years' talks between representatives of the Holy See and the episcopate, between representatives of the government and Poland's episcopate and between representatives of the Polish Government and the Holy See have been crowned.

"After 50 years of break an apostolic nuncio will come to Warsaw to tighten and consolidate ties uniting the Holy See and particular churches in Poland and fulfill his mission in the Polish state in line with regulations of the international law."

The statement also voices gratitude to the pope "for his particular concern for the good of the church, the nation and Poland, underlying his 'significant decision" and states that "fulfilled have been the expectation of the primate of the millennium, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski who untiringly aimed to permanently regulate relations between the state and the church and to set up a nunciature of the first class in Warsaw."

Solidarity Calls for Health Service Protests To End

LD1807222589 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Gdansk, July 18—Presidium of the Solidarity coordination committee of health service employees called on its members today to end protest actions.

Summarizing results of negotiations carried on by the union, the presidium stated that agreement was achieved as to doubling the down payment to be paid in the beginning of August, revalorization of wages every quarter of the year and including pay rises into the basic wages. The problems of the health service that has not been settled yet will be included in the agendae of government and Sejm debates in September.

Meanwhile, a manifestation of health service employees was staged today in Bydgoszcz, Central Poland. Participants in the "white march" handed the voivode of Bydgoszcz and resolution demanding inter alia implementation of round table settlements as to providing health service with equipment and medicines.

Transport Workers Striking in Katowice

LD1907095789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] The strike of drivers and tram drivers of the voivodship transport enterprise is continuing in Katowice Voivodship. Today 1,174 buses, 204 trams, and 12 trolleybuses did not leave their depots. The voivoda of Katowice has appealed to directors of work enterprises and private persons to help transport residents of Silesia and Silesian Basin. Substitute transport is being organized by mayors and town and parish executive officers.

Spanish Daily Interviews Solidarity's Geremek

PM1907094489 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 5 Jul 89 p 12

[Interview with Solidarity Senator Bronislaw Geremek by Ricardo Estarriol on train between Warsaw and Krakow; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Estarriol] Is this how a future prime minister travels in Poland?

[Geremek] I assume you intended that as a joke...

[Estarriol] Not at all. There are many people who think so.

[Geremek] You must not forget that we come, so to speak, from prison or underground. Not many years ago, we were still in internment camps. Our problem was that of becoming a legal opposition. Many things will have to be done before we are able to take on government responsibility, although we lack neither experience nor the desire to take on that responsibility.

[Estarriol] So what is lacking?

[Geremek] The system cannot change through elections. A system can be changed through a civil war—that is, through a revolution—or through a slow evolution, and we have chosen the latter course.

[Estarriol] How does your presence in parliament square with that idea?

[Geremek] In parliament we wish to be a force capable of ensuring the democratization of the institutions. We want a transition from an authoritarian system to a democratic system.

After Elections

[Estarriol] What have the elections changed?

[Geremek] They have changed the social atmosphere. We have the impression that the Polish public, who are still feeling the effects of the commotion of the elections, now expect Solidarity's election victory to make possible an immediate change. In the public's view, Jaruzelski's election as president would have been incomprehensible, even if it was in the political logic of the situation. The news would have caused a shock which could have been followed by a reaction not just against the (Communist) party but also against the Solidarity trade union. The public do not understand one very simple thing—that apart from the parliamentary majority, it is the Communist Party and the Army which hold the real power in Poland. I am afraid that most people do not understand us...

[Estarriol] And what do you intend to do to make yourselves understood? Will Walesa do something?

[Geremek] Walesa, for instance, has already granted an interview to GAZETA (Solidarity's newspaper), in which he said that he takes full responsibility. The interview coincided with the decision to put forward no other candidate.

[Estarriol] What consequences have the elections had for the Communist Party?

[Geremek] The Communist Party was disappointed by its unexpected failure. They were relying on their "powerful resources." They had at their disposal good organization, the news media, and television. They were counting on a relative success, but since everybody realized that the king had no clothes, I am afraid that a desire for revenge will develop which will unite the party and lead it to attempt to reverse the situation, ignoring the elections' outcome.

[Estarriol] So this explains why anxiety casts its shadow over your joy at winning...

[Geremek] After learning the results, we did everything possible to assure the other side that we will faithfully observe the agreement. Adopting this stance has cost us a high price. Our supporters did not understand us. "Why," people ask, "must we be loyal to a system imposed without legitimacy for 45 years?"

[Estarriol] And you do not believe that the Communist Party, or at least a part of it, has not understood all this?

[Geremek] Following the initial shock, I believe that the reformist current supported by the generals has prevailed in the party. The "hard-liners" are awaiting another opportunity. Their only possibility is recourse to social demagoguery. There is a similar tendency in the official trade union which could cause a split within the party with the formation of a new workers' party.

Sociological Reality

[Estarriol] Do you believe that the party intends to rely on the workers?

[Geremek] The Communist Party has not been a workers' party for a long time. The party is visibly aging; there are no young people in it. But the sociological and political reality is one thing, and the communist tactic is another. There is numerical equality between the party members and the posts in the "nomenklatura," and the Communists are very well aware of this. During the "roundtable," they decided to adjust to the new situation, becoming a party of executives and businessmen. At least, that is the tactic which I observe. Instead of introducing pluralism, with political parties, the Communist Party is attempting to create a phony pluralism. How? Well, through internal splits within the party. As a result, there would be an executives' (social democratic) party, a workers' party, and so forth. And these parties would unite in a government coalition.

[Estarriol] What chances of success will this tactic have, in your opinion?

[Geremek] None. These are ephemeral things.

[Estarriol] You Solidarity people have had, and continue to have, contacts with the Catholic hierarchy, but Cardinal Glemp has just received—with great applause from the communist press—the Christian Democratic leaders who ran against Solidarity candidates.

[Geremek] There are very close relations between Solidarity and the Catholic hierarchy. We owe winning these elections largely to the church hierarchy's support. During the election campaign, it was the clergy, the parish associations, and the Catholic movements which provided us with resources of all kinds. It is also true that there were contrary instances; some bishops opposed the rare candidates on our slate who declared themselves socialists. There was also the idea that the hierarchy would have to support the Christian Democrats.

[Estarriol] I do not quite understand why. If I have understood it correctly, and without wishing to interfere, the traditional doctrine of the Polish Catholic hierarchy—from Cardinal Wyszynski to Wojtyla—regards Solidarity not as a Christian movement but as a movement with Christian values. And it allows the church to carry out its mission fully. What is your opinion of the primate's viewpoint?

[Geremek] The primate has every right to his personal preferences, and he showed them during the campaign by receiving the Christian Democratic candidates and, more recently, the Labor Party (the Christian Democratic Party in Poland) presidium. I hope that this is just a manifestation of the pluralism in the church. Moreover, I have the impression that the primate is isolated in his personal support for the Christian Democrats.

Crucial Idea

[Estarriol] And how do you define yourself, Mr Geremek? Which option do you prefer?

[Geremek] I am called a liberal and left-wing, but these are empty formulas. A person can define himself by what is really important to him, and for me and for most Poles, the crucial idea is that of freedom. Freedom to be oneself. Justice in truth. I would call myself what my friend, Leszek Kolakowski, calls himself—socialist, conservative, liberal.

[Estarriol] When will parties emerge from Solidarity?

[Geremek] The time has not yet come. We are now under an authoritarian system which plays on splits. A time will come when an antiauthoritarian feeling will not be enough for us. Then parties will be formed, not based on traditional lines, however, but with programs designed for the future.

Bush Trip Shows 'Intention To Destabilize'
AU1807110889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 89 p 6

[Editorial article: "In Connection With the Visit of the U.S. President to Poland and Hungary—Too High a Price for Promises Not Worth a Farthing"]

[Text] During this week, U.S. President George Bush paid official visits to Poland and Hungary, visits whose purpose was meticulously prepared long before the visits took place.

Certainly, any contact between representatives of countries and peoples is fully welcome. The only thing is that, while statements tried to give the impression of generous concern with the future of the two countries, actual deeds clearly proved the intention to destabilize those countries. As our press has stated, already on leaving Washington, Bush launched a genuine provocation smacking of flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of Poland and Hungary. "Who is with us will be supported," he said, raising the idea of dollar donations in exchange for ... political and ideological concessions. Even a newspaper like the WASHINGTON POST wrote that Bush was using his visits to Poland and Hungary to give an impetus to the attempt to push these two central European countries from communism in the direction of the West, toward the principles of the capitalist market and political pluralism. In his turn, the correspondent of the U.S. television network ABC reported from Budapest that "Bush has left to support the spirit of free initiatives and political reforms."

It is no secret for anyone that the U.S. President supports those tendencies that serve the United States. And it is also no secret that many citizens of the countries he visited had doubts about the real reasons behind the American interests in Eastern Europe. Thus, referring to this visit, the Polish newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY published the results of a poll on Polish-American relations carried out by the center for the study of public opinion. A total of 58 percent of the Poles asked believed that "the United States wanted to use Poland in their game with the USSR," 51 percent believed that "the United States is interested in the contradictions that exist between certain of the socialist countries."

The results of the visit have by no means contradicted these assumptions. It is significant that the London TIMES wrote that, during his visits, the American President had to walk along a "political tightrope."

In Warsaw, the American President promised a five-point aid program for fresh credits, the rescheduling of the foreign debt, and the involvement of the World Bank and IMF in a kind of sui generis "rescue operation." The only thing is that Poland's foreign debt amounts to some $40 billion, while the American "aid" is only a promise of the million order accompanied by serious political conditions. The first one is developing the private sector in Poland! Depending on this, drops of the promised aid will also fall. It is not an accident that the Spanish agency EFE noted that "the aid plan for Poland announced by the U.S. President is of a political rather than economic nature." As a matter of fact, even Polish spokesman W. Gornicki emphasized that "the American package initiatives are very far from the optimal sum of the $10 billion needed by Poland. In other words," he said, "one should not count on another Marshall Plan."

Faced with this disillusion, the American Secretary of State James Baker stated clearly that, in fact, "the Poles have to help themselves." He did not do anything else than reiterate the real intentions of the U.S. President, who declared that "Poland has to solve its major problems on its own."

What these problems are is clearly described by Bratislava PRAVDA, which mentioned during those days that "Poland's debts to the West total more than $39 billion," and emphasized that "only the policy of embargo and restrictions promoted by the United States in the wake of the known events at the end of 1981, caused Poland damage amounting to $15 billion. Considering the facts Bush invoked during the visit, no compensation whatsoever is being considered. The limited American aid has thus given rise to disappointment... It seemed that the American President did not even hear requests for aid," the Slovak paper emphasized.

In Budapest things followed the same ritual as in Warsaw. The U.S. President promised that he would ask the U.S. Congress to grant a $25 million fund for... the restoration—of course! —of the private sector of the Hungarian economy. "I see Hungary as a country with 100,000 small enterprises," the U.S. President categorically declared. According to an elementary calculation this would mean $250 for each of those enterprises.

The reasons for the U.S. President's visits to Poland and Hungary have thus become clear to the whole world! This so-called aid, which is considered disappointing by those benefiting from it, actually conceals an attempt to stimulate antisocialist processes, "reforms" of a clear capitalist nature, and to promote "selective diplomacy," which divides the socialist countries into "good" and "bad" as it suits the interests of the big capitalist powers.

Such a way of approaching interstate relations, such a concept on the role of international dialogue, and such a vision of cooperation is not only an overt defiance of the code of conduct that should govern interstate relations, but also a return to practices which have been long since condemned and ensured by peoples and the entire public opinion. Any form of interference in the domestic affairs of some countries is an arbitrary act and profoundly harmful to the atmosphere of detente and cooperation in general, and a profoundly reprehensible act, no matter in what words it is expressed. It is nothing else but an attempt to turn back the wheel of history. How successful this attempt will be remains to be seen. At this point, the

only fact that is sure is that the American guest, as a Western press agency reports, travelling through Budapest, "bought a bag of peaches for 18 forints from a private merchant, gave autographs to amateur sportsmen, and even signed a dirty pair of tennis shoes."

However, not everything can be sold and bought. For instance, the right to independence, noninterference in domestic affairs, to ideals, social options, and to democracy. However, there are obviously circumstances under which these truths are arrogantly forgotten or ignored. And this is good so. Because no one wants to pay such a high price for promises not worth a farthing.

'Independence, Supreme Ideal' of Romanians

AU1907110489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1000 GMT 19 Jul 89

["Independence, Supreme Ideal of the Romanian People—Excerpted Commentary in SCINTEIA of 19 July"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/7/1989—The assertion of all nations' right to free and independent development is a fundamental orientation of the Romanian foreign policy of the period that followed the Ninth RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress (1965). Independence is nothing festive, it is a question of life, of existence for each nation, President Nicolae Ceausescu most suggestively stressed. It is the catalyst of the deep-going transformations that have radically changed the political configuration of the world, preserving untouched its character of legitimate, revolutionary and highly topical requirement. The RCP general secretary's outlook of great theoretical and practical value according to which the nation, far from ceasing to play its historic role, will for a long time be a strong mobilizing factor in the fight for general progress is thus fully confirmed. This outlook, just as the foreign policy actions it inspires enjoys broad appreciation precisely because it fully agrees with the processes under way in the world the salient nature of which is the ever more powerful and clear promotion of the peoples' will to self-dependently decide their destiny, their sacred, imprescriptible and intangible right to order their economic and social life in keeping with their own wishes, without any outside interference. History, developments in various parts of the world have tellingly proved how big is the price for disregarding this requirement, for the attempts at imposing a certain pattern of sociopolitical development or organization from the outside. Such projects invariably fail, the attempts at implanting forms of sociopolitical organization where the necessary conditions are not in place inevitably cause rejection which may take the most acute forms, seriously endangering peace.

World developments also attest to the correctness of the thesis substantiated by President Nicolae Ceausescu on the invincibility of the cause of the peoples that raise in fight to safeguard their right to sovereignty and independence. Developments in various parts of the world eloquently show that there is no force able to stop the fight of a people resolved to make any sacrifice to win or safeguard its freedom, and which enjoys the support and solidarity of the other peoples.

Starting from the truth that the most brutal forms of violating peoples' independence and sovereignty are the recourse to arms, military interventions, Romania, its president have relentlessly declared against all military interventions, were they attempts of imperialist circles at stifling the peoples' fight or aspirations for freedom and progress, at forcing historical development disregarding the existing concrete conditions. It was with the same relentlessness that socialist Romania has condemned, over the entire period after the Ninth Congress, any interference under the form of pressure, conditioning, or economic or any other kind of sanction.

It is indubitable that the idea of independence is today a highly mobilizing factor in rejecting the attempts to encroach in different forms upon the peoples' right to a free and decent life.

Now, when the international situation continues to be serious and complex, and there is a tendency of increasing and improving the means of destruction, the observance of the principle of independence is all the more imperiously necessary as the violation in one way or another of this cardinal principle of interstate relations bears negatively on the world political climate. Unfortunately, the attempts made by some Western circles to interfere in the internal affairs of states have been more obvious of late, running counter elementary norms of international coexistence, and reminding practices and methods condemned by peoples long ago. Like circles attempt to "advise" peoples how to solve their problems or to take certain domestic social and political aspects, which in their opinion would stop being under national jurisdiction, out of the sphere of independence. Rejecting such attempts as inadmissible Romania's president has once again underscored from the rostrum of the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People that only the people of each country can decide on the matters of concern to it. Along the same line of rejecting interference in internal affairs, the declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states' meeting in Bucharest underlined that the observance of the principle of independence is a prerequisite of guaranteeing military and political stability in Europe and the world over.

Independence is a basic principle of peoples' life stipulated by fundamental international documents starting with the Charter of the United Nations, and the observance of this principle is an objective demand for the development of normal relations among all countries.

The Romanian policy of consistently promoting the cause of national independence and sovereignty harmonizes with all peoples' legitimate aspirations, with the renewing processes throughout the world, and asserts itself as a major positive factor of international life.

Ceausescu Message to Mitterrand on National Day
AU1807142989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 89 p 5

[Message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to French President Francois Mitterrand "on the National Day of the French Republic"]

[Text] To Mr Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, Paris

On the National Holiday of the French Republic and the bicentennial of the French Revolution, which took place under the sign of the great ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, I take pleasure in extending warm congratulations to you, together with best wishes for prosperity and progress to the friendly French people.

I hope that the traditional Romanian-French relations of cooperation will develop positively on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state, of equality and noninterference in domestic affairs, and in the interest of and to the benefit of the Romanian and French peoples, and the cause of peace and international understanding.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Begins Visit to Constanta County
AU1907081589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0748 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/7/1989—Wednesday morning, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Constanta County. The first town to be visited was Mangalia, where the president inaugurated important road transport objectives.

Pressure on Serbo-Croat Minority Reported
AU1907111389 Vienna KURIER in German 19 Jul 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Romanian Names for Serbs and Croatians; Ceausescu Increases Terror Against Minorities"]

[Text] The measures taken by Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu against the minorities in his country are becoming increasingly ruthless: After having deprived the Hungarian and German ethnic groups of all rights and also of their cultural homeland by the plans for the destruction of their villages, now the members of the Serbian and Croation minorities are being increasingly exposed to the pressure of assimilation. On account of a directive from Bucharest, they are permitted to have only Romanian names as of now. Approximately 40 Serbian-language schools and the Serbian grammar school in Timisoara has been closed by the authorities. The reception of Yugoslav television has also been prohibited under penalty of heavy fines. Approximately 100,000 Serbs and Croats live in Romania, mainly in Banat.

These measures are in accordance with the harsh policy by which Bucharest has also isolated itself within the Eastern Bloc: For example, the Hungarians are still indignant at Ceausescu's recent military threats and the openly expressed territorial claims: The Romanian chief of staff called it "unjust" that territories populated by Hungarians belong to Hungary.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Stops in Belgrade

Loncar, Horn Hold Talks; Horn Departs

LD1907082189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today met with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn who stopped over in Belgrade for several hours. During the meeting, talks were held on a number of topical international issues and the most important issues in relations between the two neighboring friendly countries.

Reference was made to a recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Committee in Bucharest and to the summit of the seven Western developed countries in Paris. In reference to global trends, both sides agreed that the international climate of detente and negotiations is being consolidated and to which both sides are contributing through a meaningful bilateral dialogue and mutual understanding and respect.

Mention was also made of the current stage in the preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade in September. Gyula Horn drew attention to Hungary's interest in developments within the Nonaligned Movement, stressing that his country is attentively following the preparations for the summit, especially the efforts to modernize the Nonaligned Movement and its dialogue with other international factors. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn expressed his country's interest in taking part in the nonaligned summit as a guest.

Reference was also made to some specific issues of bilateral economic cooperation and support given to the efforts to diversify it by new forms and contents.

Following his short stay in Belgrade, the Hungarian minister left for Budapest.

MTI Reports Talks

LD1907103289 Budapest MTI in English 0731 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (MTI)—En route from Sofia to Budapest, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn met his Yugoslavian colleague, Budimir Loncar, in Belgrade on Tuesday [18 July]. They discussed the outcome of the Bucharest conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee and the Paris summit of the 7 leading capitalist states.

Mr Horn gave voice to Hungary's interest in attending, with an invitee status, the 9th Belgrade summit of the non-aligned countries, scheduled for September.

South Slavs Alliance Branch Founded in Budapest

AU1807180689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 89 p 7

[TANJUG report: "The Budapest Branch of the Democratic Alliance of South Slavs Founded"]

[Text] A Budapest branch of the Democratic Alliance of South Slavs in Hungary was founded today. This was the beginning of the realization of the decision made in Pecz last December that this organization, which includes about 100,000 Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes in Hungary, should be expanded through local associations. The seat of the alliance will remain in Budapest, as was decided at the 10th congress of the Democratic Alliance of South Slavs in Hungary, but the local councils will be given a considerably greater role.

The Budapest association includes congress delegates, members of the South Slavs Club, and teachers at the elementary and grammar schools in the Square of Roses. Their basic task is to protect the interests of about 5,000 Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes living in the Hungarian capital.

Romanian Party Secretary Stoian Visits

Pancevski Meets Stoian

LD1807083689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav party Presidency president Milan Pancevski on Monday received the candidate for Executive Political Council member and Romanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, Ion Stoian, in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) presidency.

The talks positively assessed the relations and cooperation between the Yugoslav and Romanian parties and stressed their importance to the development of the two countries' good-neighbour relations and the search for overcoming the open issues in bilateral relations.

LCY Presidency executive secretary Stanislav Stojanovic also met with Stoian. The two party officials exchanged information about the two parties' activities in the internal sphere.

They also discussed some theoretic and practical questions of modern socialism, such as social property issues, political pluralism, technological development and others, and some current international issues.

Simovic Receives Stoian

LD1907102189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—Today, Aleksandar Simovic, president of the Foreign Policy Committee of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, received Ion

Stoian, candidate-member of Political Executive Committee (of the Romanian Communist Party) and secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. The talks covered improvements in bilateral cooperation, particularly parliamentary cooperation, as well as other topical issues regarding international relations.

European Council Secretary on East Europe Members
AU1507164689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1552 GMT 15 Jul 89

["Council of Europe Secretary-General Interview"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Zagreb, July 15 (TANJUG)—The status of guest member in the Council of Europe recently granted to the delegations of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union is an acknowledgement to those countries for their progress on the path towards democratization, Council of Europe Secretary-General Mrs Catherine Lalumiere told the Yugoslav daily VECERNJI LIST in an interview.

Lalumiere pointed out that the internal development in each of the mentioned countries was different and that they could therefore not be put on the same plane.

However, she added, this political acknowledgement certainly opens the door for concrete cooperation.

The committee of ministers has invited Hungary and Poland to join the European Convention, to which Yugoslavia became a party in 1987, and these countries can be expected to join other conventions and to expand cooperation in other areas as well, Lalumiere said.

She said she was convinced that the democratic development of the East European countries would favourably influence their economic position, since it would stimulate their productivity as well as investments from the industrialized countries.

By opening up towards countries with different political systems, the Council of Europe does not intend to forget its mission and priorities in cooperation will continue to be questions of human rights and democracy, Lalumiere said.

All our collocutors accept debate on these questions, she added, recalling that a possibility had been opened at the recent Paris conference on human rights for the European Human Rights Convention to include all the countries of Europe.

The welcome given to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Bonn and the joint declaration adopted at the time, as well as his visit to Strasbourg, confirm the start of a dialogue and the expression of true will for cooperation between all the European states after 45 years of divisions and confrontations, Lalumiere said.

Federal Chamber Session Set for 25, 26 Jul
LD1707122889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul, (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber will be held 25 and 26 July. At this session, delegates will acquaint themselves with the state Presidency's report on the results of the application of special measures in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and also on the agenda is a report on the implementation of the Yugoslav program for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this province and the more rapid return of those who have left it.

Delegates will also acquaint themselves with the reports on the work of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs during last year, as well as on the realization of the basic program of measures and activities of the SFRY in implementing the decisions of the Nonaligned Movement's eighth conference of heads of state and government.

FEC's Markovic Visits Montenegro, Holds Talks
LD1807091889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1947 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Titograd, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, arrived in Titograd this evening on a 2-day visit to Montenegro. Immediately upon his arrival in Montenegro's capital, the FEC president started talks on the current economic situation with representatives of the republic's executive council.

The program of the visit envisages talks with Montenegro businessmen in the republic's chamber of economy tomorrow morning and a tour of the Boris Kidric ironworks in Niksic. Tomorrow afternoon, the FED president is expected to hold closing talks with Montenegro's leadership.

Meets Republic Leaders
LD1807124389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2334 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic and his aides had talks in Titograd this evening with the delegation of the Montenegrin Executive Council on topical issues concerning the economic situation and measures of economic policy aimed at curbing inflation. Before talks with members of the republican government, the FEC president met the highest-ranking leaders of Montenegro: Branko Kostic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency; Momir Bulatovic, president of the League of Communists Central Committee Presidium; and Dr Dragan Radonjic, president of the Assembly.

The talks with the delegation of the Montenegrin Executive Council were also attended by Branimir Zekan and Stevan Santo, federal secretaries for finance and energy; FEC member Veselin Vukotic; and Dusan Vlatkovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

FEC President Ante Markovic explained in detail the FEC moves and stressed that they are directed at curbing inflation. These measures, Markovic underlined, should contribute to efforts to increase efficiency of our society as a whole, especially efficiency of resources and economy. He warned that so far no one in the world has managed to curb inflation without coming into conflict with consumption at all levels. In this connection, Markovic recalled that the participation of the federal budget in social product was reduced from previous 11 to only 7.14 percent, which represents a decrease of over 30 percent.

Stressing that the FEC agreed inflation to be an enormous problem which the federal government should fight, Ante Markovic warned that no one in this country has the right to claim that inflation is the FEC's problem alone. Inflation is the problem of society as a whole and every part of society must fight against it, he pointed out.

Markovic also recalled that for the first time after so many years, extra-budgetary and budgetary consumption were linked and placed under control.

We do not wish to interfere in the payment of personal incomes, and statistics show that they were increased, though there are no realistic grounds for it, noted Markovic. The abolition of checks which were used to pay for goods bought on credit was unavoidable, said the FEC president. He added that conditions now exist for granting credit for the same time period, but the prices of goods and capital must be identified.

Ante Markovic also announced the establishment of a money market in the near future, and drew attention to a very favorable foreign exchange income from the substantial purchase of foreign currency on the foreign exchange market which purchases up to $50 million daily, which will ensure that the country's foreign exchange reserves will exceed the sum of $4 billion in 2 months.

Most probably we represent a phenomenon in the world with such a high rate of inflation on the one side and such enormous foreign exchange reserves on the other, said Markovic. He also mentioned the fact that the prices of 85 percent of products have already been liberalized and that the further liberalization of imports will happen soon.

Tomorrow, FEC President Ante Markovic will have talks in the Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce and visit the Boris Kidric ironworks in Niksic. He will hold final talks with the delegation of the Montenegrin Executive Council in the afternoon.

Announces Money Market

LD1807093189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0030 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Titograd, July 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic, who formulated a market-based concept of the economy after taking over the premiership early this year, has announced that the country will soon set up a money market.

Markovic, in talks with leader of Yugoslavia's Republic of Montenegro on Monday night, pointed out that the country's foreign market was operating well, with a daily buy up of as many as 50 million dollars which is believed to enable the country's foreign currency reserves to exceed the four billion dollars mark. It might well be a world phenomenon, added he, that a country with as high an inflation has as high foreign currency reserves. [as received]

The premier said that the prices of 85 percent of all products were liberalized in Yugoslavia, and that the import trade would soon be liberalized further.

In stressing that all steps by his cabinet were of the anti-inflationary character, Markovic said they were aimed increasing the efficaciousness of the economy. Answering criticial remarks that the government was insufficiently fighting inflation, has underscored that nobody had the right to assert that this was a problem of the government alone, but that every segment of society had to fight inflation.

Suppressing inflation presumes lower consumption at all levels, said Markovic in noting that after long years Yugoslavia had combined budgetary and extra-budgetary consumption placing them under control. He mentioned that the participation of the federal budget in the social product was reduced from the previous 11 percent to no more than 7.14 percent, or a decrease of over 30 percent.

Urges New Concept of Development

LD1907095389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Titograd, July 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic today urged a quest for a new concept, policy, and system to enable the country not only to overcome a decade-long crisis but also to create space for new development which would result in wealthier, freer, and more democratic life for all Yugoslavs.

At a meeting with businessmen from the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, Markovic said that such development orientation of his cabinet implies solutions which would bring about a new system and an integral Yugoslav market of capital, goods, labour and knowledge.

In this, economic subjects should have a free hand to make economic and development decisions and take responsibility for them, said Markovic, adding that neither state [as received] nor politics have any right to interfere in economic, development, cadre and other decisions.

Markovic noted that changes in the political system should be effected simultaneously with those in the economic sphere. He recalled that it is becoming increasingly evident that the government economic policy measures are being hindered by an unsettled political system. He also said he expected all conservative, dogmatic and extreme-leftist forces, as well as forces which enjoyed privileges under the old system, to organize against the new system at a certain stage of its development.

Speaks on Self-Managing Socialism

LD1907100789 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, in the course of the talks with Montenegrin leadership in Titograd, said that the exchange rate disparities for this year will be covered in the next 2 months. All other controversial issues remain open. Here is Dimo Ramovic from Titograd:

[Ramovic] After a 2-day visit to Montenegro and talks with a delegation of the republican executive council, Montenegrin businessmen and [words indistinct], Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and his aides had final talks this evening in Titograd with his hosts, president of the Montenegrin presidency, Branko Kostic, president of the republican executive council, Radoje Kontic, and members of the Montenegrin govenment. The Yugoslav Government president said he was satisfied with all talks he held in this republic.

[Begin Markovic recording] I have to say especially that I am satisfied with this morning's talks with business representatives. The representatives were very clearly market-oriented and prepared to enter the struggle for changes; they demand changes. I venture to say to everyone, who by accepting this new system entered the struggle to restructure and adopt themselves to these new conditions, that they can count on our modest abilities and that we will support and help them irrespective of their situation. We will do this because we must support these progressive forces with all available means.

There are progressive forces in the country, in all parts of the country. They will be supported in all areas so they can succeed in getting the process of change off the ground. By assisting in the initiation of this process, they should foster restructuring in the country. This should provide opportunity for a richer, more democratic, free life. We should embark on entering a new self-managing socialism. [end recording]

57 Percent of Budget Allocated for Military

LD1907060989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0402 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—The federal parliament today allocated about 35,000 billion dinars (1 U.S. dollar; 18,668 dinars), or 57 percent of the budget, to the Yugoslav Armed Forces. Last year, military spending accounted for 5.2 percent of social product, but the share was down to 4.6 percent this year.

After the recently-approved rebalance, the federal budget now accounts for 7.1 percent of the country's social product, a significant reduction from 9.2 percent last year, it was said at today's Parliament session.

After the rebalance, the 1989 budget now stands at 62,000 billion dinars.

As stated today, reduced budgetary spending is a first step towards reducing Yugoslavia's inflation, whose annual rate now stands at 1,600 percent.

Macedonian Assembly Opposes Law on Colonists

AU1807180389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Unacceptable Demand"]

[Text] Skopje, 13 Jul—The Macedonian Assembly is of the opinion that the demand voiced by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia for a federal law which is to revise the allocation of land to colonists and people interested in land in the SR of Macedonia is unjustifiable and unacceptable. The delegates of the Macedonian Assembly point out that the 1945 Law on Agrarian Reform and Colonization in Macedonia eliminated the negative consequences of the former colonization policy and solved all controversial questions, both from the sociopolitical and legal ownership aspect.

The chambers of the Macedonian Assembly have been acquainted with the Serbian Assembly's precise definitions and initiatives issued on 29 June, which say that the demand does not apply to the SR of Macedonia. Nevertheless, the chambers assess that a federal law adopted in order to mitigate harmful consequences may bear legal implications on Macedonia, too.

Milosevic, Serbian Delegation Visit Macedonia

AU1707140289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] A Serbian delegation consisting of Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency; Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia; Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly; Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia; Ratomir Vico, member of the Presidium of the

Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia; and Mihajlo Milojevic, president of the Serbian Economic Chamber, is paying a working visit to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia today.

In the talks, held in the Macedonian Presidency's premises, the Serbian and Macedonian delegations exchanged views on the current socioeconomic, ideopolitical, and other questions of interest for the country as whole and for improving relations and cooperation between these two republics in particular.

The talks are still going on.

Republic Leaders Warn on Disintegration

LD1807083289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Skopje, July 17 (TANJUG)— The deteriorating crisis which undermines the main achievements of the socialist revolution is increasingly burdening the complex situation in the country, it was said at today's meeting of the leaderships of the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Macedonia held in Skopje.

A statement issued after the meeting said that the participants in the discussion pointed to the need of putting an end to the disintegration trends in the economy, politics, and culture.

The economic reform will not yield the expected results if it is not accompanied by a reform of the political system and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), said the statement. This is why the drafting of a new constitution should be approached at once with a purpose of democratizing the political system, which will in turn strengthen the protection of human rights and freedoms and a legal state, said the statement.

The new constitution must ensure the federation's efficient functioning in the economic policy field, especially in the fiscal, monetary, and the domain of foreign economic relations. Without this, an integrated Yugoslav market cannot function and Yugoslavia's participation in the European and global integration processes becomes impossible, it was said.

It will be the major responsibility of the LCY and its leaderships to ensure that conditions for urgent changes in the political system are created equally during the preparations for the 14th emergency LCY congress and at the congress, said the statement.

It was also stated during the talks that the separatist activity in Kosovo is the main threat to Yugoslavia and its socialism.

The ethnic Albanian minority in Serbia, Macedonia, and in Yugoslavia has had its full national affirmation. This makes the claims that ethnic Albanians have an unequal position false and the attempts to revise the political course taken by the LCY on the problem of Kosovo unacceptable, it was stated.

Macedonian Official on Political Situation

LD1807151389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Zagreb, July 18 (TANJUG)—Mikhail Danev, Presidency secretary of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, has stated that individual attempts to negate the Macedonian nation, its entity and national identity revolted the Macedonian public.

In an interview published in the Zagreb weekly DANAS today, Danev offered in illustration the removal of a memorial plaque from the monastery Prohor Pcinjski, where the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People of Macedonia (ASNOM) was held during World War Two, and the recent request of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia for the abolition of the federal law on a revision of the distribution of land to colonists in Macedonia and Kosovo.

Danev categorically rejected the speculations that Macedonia was allegedly siding with one of "the divided camps" in Yugoslavia and clearly let it be known that Macedonia "is no bargaining chip" and that "it has lastingly opted for Tito's Yugoslavia—a united fraternal, common, equal, and federal Yugoslavia." "Some other republic may have an alternative, but we, ourselves, are for Yugoslavia as it is, for the one we decided to have during the 1941- 1944 liberation war," Danev said.

The Macedonian official said that concrete talks between republican and party leadeships were in his opinion a way by means of which to resolve disputes in the country. In illustration, he noted that such talks were recently held between a delegation of Macedonia and a delegation of the Republic of Slovenia. Talks with a delegation of Serbia followed and similar contacts are to be held with the delegations of the other federal units, too.

Danev maintains that many unacceptable phenomena in Macedonia are in fact a result of the failure of the system's institutions to function. That is why he said it was necessary to reform the League of Communists and the entire socio-political model.

"If the Socialist Alliance becomes stronger, if the trades unions get on their feet, if genuine results are produced, I see no reason for forming other parties," Danev said.

He specified that Macedonia favoured the idea of a non-party political model, because, as he said, Yugoslavia has had bad experience with a multi-party system. Danev, however, expressed the opinion that not too much noise should be raised over the existing differences, since (?the) democratization of relations, and

political pluralism, itself, imply the existence of different opinions. "What is necessary is, through a constructive confrontation of opinions, to arrive at the best possible solutions," Danev said. He underscored the high degree of the Macedonian leadership's unity on all key matters concerning the republic.

In the interview, Danev referred to the possibility of the reopening of Macedonia's giant ferronickel plant Feni, closed as unprofitable, but said that the decision on the matter "must not be a political one but, instead, a result of a sound economic logic."

Serbian Party Commission Views Reforms

AU1807182489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] The League of Communists of Serbia is the cause of the already known form of crisis in the stagnation of the development and production forces. This crisis has resulted in a considerable impoverishment of society, a blockade of its system, and the bureaucratic-class blockade of the social-class exponents of self-management.

This was said in a statement issued at the session of the Commission for Transformation of the Party and Statutory Questions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.

The participants in the session discussed the working text of a draft document concerning the basis of the democratic reform of the party prepared for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia. This document was adopted.

Serbia Considering Introduction of Stock Market

AU1807205889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Setting up a capital market and making it open to the world market is an important factor in implementing the economic reform. This was stated today at the session of the Serbian Presidency Commission for Economic Reforms, chaired by Slobodan Milosevic.

The commission stated that it is necessary to urgently pass appropriate legal regulations concerning this matter and that there is no excuse for delay.

In addition to the creation of the necessary economic-systemic conditions, the commission stated that one should immediately start with the preparations for the setting up and functioning of a capital market.

The commission proposed the gradual development of a stock market, but until all the necessary conditions which should stem from the measures of the economic policy and legal regulations have been created, the purpose of the capital market should be reduced to the institutionalization of share capital. The members of the commission endorsed the proposal for the immediate start on organizing a stock market, urging the use of all scientific expertise and world experience.

Kosovo Presidency Supports Amendments

LD1807060189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1350 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, July 17 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Kosovo Province on Monday [17 July], issued a statement supporting the proposed amendments to the provincial constitution by saying that they are in keeping with those made in the constitutions of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia.

The constitutional changes will provide the legal prerequisites for equality of nations and nationalities in this province, populated by ethnic Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others.

The proposed amendments determine more fully and in greater detail the position and functions of Kosovo, a province within the Republic of Serbia and a constituent element of the Yugoslav federation, the provincial Presidency said.

It added that the recent reorganization of the police in the province has given favourable results, especially in relation to the implementation of the special measures imposed in Kosovo by the Yugoslav State Presidency following the bloody unrest last February.

Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina Leaders Meet

LD1907030889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2209 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Sarajevo, July 18 (TANJUG)—Full support for the government's programmes for introducing a market-oriented economy and democratizing society, as well as the need for a speedier surmounting of mutual differences in Yugoslavia were at the focus of a talk held between delegations of the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina here today.

The talk was another in a series which have been held in Yugoslavia recently. So far, meetings have been held between the leaderships of Serbia and Macedonia, Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slovenia, and it is certain that the trend will continue to include the other Yugoslav federal units.

It is yet uncertain when will be held a meeting between the leaderships of Slovenia and Serbia, postponed recently over disagreements and differences on topics to be put on the agenda paper.

Today's talk between the delegations of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, headed by Republican Presidents Ivo Latin and Dr Obrad Piljak, respectively, stressed the necessity of all solutions in the new constitution, on which

heated debates are already in progress, being based on the attained level of life together and on Tito's concept of a federation of equal nations and nationalities.

In this context, the responsibility was emphasized of the federal units for the over-all situation in Yugoslavia and the policy rejected of uninational gatherings and homogenization of any one nation.

Discussing increasingly frequent instances of extreme nationalistic behaviour in the country, the two delegations agreed that these are not surprising in these lands populated by a multitude of nations. What is surprising, however, is that the defences against such behaviour have given way.

The two delegations particularly emphasized the duty of protecting Tito's name and achievement from groundless attacks, without ruling out the need for a critical reassessment of mistakes made during the country's turbulent development period, but a well-argumented critical reassessment based on accepted scientific methods.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Cooperates With Arab Countries
LD1807110289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0415 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Sarajevo, July 17 (TANJUG)—The Arab countries are a significant market which enables the development of all types of economic cooperation, and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina should undertake all measures and actions to promote cooperation with this group of countries, a session of the presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina said on Monday.

Investment projects of Bosnia-Hercegovina firms in the Arab countries are the major form of economic cooperation which could be more extensive and better if the Yugoslav firms improved their joint approach in the fields of construction, machine building, designing, and complete engineering services.

According to the Bosnia-Hercegovina presidency, the basic causes of economic stagnation regarding these countries, are the disorganization and lack of coordination between banking institutions and firms, their slow adaption to market conditions, and unfavourable structure of exchange regarding the country and type of goods.

It is necessary to remove the causes hampering the payment of outstanding claims for the export of goods and services and the insolvency of exporters, and to more rapidly change the quality of the appearance of this republic's firms on this market.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency said that lasting presence in Arab countries should be achieved through the development of longterm economic relations, especially those based on joint investments and the founding of joint firms.

Big possibilities exist in the development of cooperation in agriculture, science, and technology. Agriculture is increasingly gaining in importance in the Arab countries and is becoming one of the major fields for the transfer of scientific achievements.

Group Sues Bosnia-Hercegovina for 'Persecution'
AU1807194489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 89 p 4

[M. Lucic report: "Enemy Hunt"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 12 Jul—Seven people from Ilidza recently sued the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina—that is, its Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Communal Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Ilidza—for damaging their honor and reputation. It was said at the hearing at the Sarajevo Basic Court today that the suit has been joined by 12 more people from Ilidza.

The People from Ilidza have decided to file these unusual charges after the seven of them—Ljubo Bosiljcic, Ratko Cucilo, Milorad Babalj, Branko Kapular, Budimir Djuric, Bozo Micunovic, and Zdravko Miseljic—were proclaimed to be "Serb nationalists" and members of the 10-member "hostile group" in 1986. They were described as such in the addendum to the assessment of the political and security situation written by the Ilidza LC Community Committee in March 1986. On the basis of this report, five people from this group were summarily expelled from the LC of Yugoslavia [LCY]. Four of them appealed to higher bodies and when the LCY Statutory Commission upheld the appeals, their party organizations changed their original decision and readmitted them to the party.

Another 12 people from Ilidza have joined the suit. Vukasin Koprivica, Ana Delalic, Marko Milosevic, Drago Tausan, Vojin Guzina, Sekula Manojlovic, Mirko Dzajic, Sveto Petkovic, Vojo Kapetanovic, Rade Lucic, Milovan Grubadzic, and Milinko Vulovic claim in their charges that they used to be arrested at all sorts of places and dragged out of their beds at daybreak in front of their surprised families or at work places. They were arrested without any reason, grounds, or cause, and without arrest warrants or court decisions, and all of that was done with a view to discovering a "nonexistent enemy," who had to be found at any cost. The first suit, filed by the seven people from Ilidza, says that there was a regular "persecution" of about 160 to 200 families in Ilidza 3 years ago aimed at "discovering a nonexistent enemy" at any cost. [passage omitted]

Irrespective of this civil suit, lawyer Sava Andjelkovic, who represents the plaintifs, decided to file criminal charges against Dusko Zgonjanin, former republican secretary for internal affairs; Resid Music, former under secretary in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs; Slobodan Skipina, head of the Sarajevo Security Services Center; Mirko Subotic, Boro Djurica, Branko

Blagovcanin, and Dragan Medjovic, inspectors in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs; Salko Ljevo, former secretary of the Ilidza Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs; and Marko Zivanovic, president of the Ilidza LC Communal Committee. Criminal charges have been filed against them for abusing an official position, making an unauthorized search of dwellings and lawyers' offices, carrying out unauthorized confiscations of legally obtained weapons which were then sold to one's friends, and for extorting statements. The outcome of these criminal charges is now being awaited.

Milosevic Greets Montenegrin President Kostic

AU1707195189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 89 p 7

[TANJUG report: "Slobodan Milosevic Sends Greetings to Branko Kostic"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 13 July Uprising Day in Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, has sent his and the Serbian Presidency's greetings to Branko Kostic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency. Among other things, the telegram states:

Jointly with other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the Montenegrin people won freedom in the people's struggle for liberation, and through this freedom they have made great achievements. Through their work and their struggle against injustice, abuse, bureaucracy, and imposed divisions, the working people and citizens of Montenegro are demonstrating today, as they did at that time, that they are prepared to last out in their attempts to find a way out of the economic and social crisis. The Serbian people and all other peoples and nationalities who live in the Socialist Republic of Serbia are also pursuing this joint path of social progress.

Slovenes Seek Pardon for Jansa, Others

AU1707081389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 89 p 4

[Slobodan Zikic report: "They Are Again Seeking Pardon for the Four"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 10 Jul—While even the newspapers contain open proposals to the Slovene Presidency to pardon Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl (although this act would be unconstitutional), it seems that the SFRY Presidency does not want to do it, and Joze Smole, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, talks in his numerous speeches about the need for new, different political means and methods, because the current ones have not produced tangible results. A group of the Slovene Assembly delegates, which is studying the circumstance and consequences of the trial against the four, has decided—after it had discovered the existence of the "secret" ordinances whose authors are the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and the federal secretary for internal affairs—to try again and ask the SFRY Presidency to pardon the four.

So, after the group of the Slovene Assembly delegates sent an official demand to the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to assess the constitutionality and legality of the ordinances, and after the Slovene Assembly adopted conclusions accepting all the demands made by this group of delegates—these conclusions demand that the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and the relevant federal administrative organs immediately publish the unpublished rules and harmonize their unlawful and illegal provisions with the Constitution and the Law, and express the hope that the future conduct of the federal and republican organs will demonstrate their readiness to defend and respect the principle of a law-governed state—a demand for pardoning the four was also sent to the SFRY Presidency.

The demand of this group begins with references to the SFRY Presidency's report made at its session of 21 June of this year when, considering a pardon for the four, the SFRY Presidency concluded that there were no new circumstances which could alter its stand on this matter. The demand then states that "the discovery of the fact that in Yugoslavia there are unpublished and therefore legally nonexistent rules, which infringe even on the constitutionally protected rights and freedoms of the citizens, represents one of the most important discoveries relevant for establishing the circumstances and consequences of the trial of the four." The demand sent to SFRY Presidency states that the importance of this is even greater considering that these rules obviously allow unlawful conduct which is not only unconstitutional and illegal, but, according to the Constitution, is also punishable in some cases.

Stressing that, in view of the developments in the legal system, the SFRY and society as a whole are currently at the crucial crossroads, the group of delegates is of the opinion that the importance of the recent discovery, which was not known at the time when previous applications for a pardon were made to the SFRY Presidency, makes it possible to adopt a different stand on how the legal system and the constitutionally established basic rights and freedoms of citizens should be realized. [passage omitted]

The proposal was signed by the chairman of the group which is studying the circumstances and consequences of the trial against the four, Aleksandar Rivnikar, and stamped by the seal of the Slovene Assembly. The proposal was also sent to the Slovene Presidency, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and other republican sociopolitical organizations. [passage omitted]

Envoy to Greece Holds Talks Before End of Tour

LD1707014789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Thessaloniki, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Vladimir Sultanovic, SFRY ambassador to Greece, paid a farewell visit

to Thessaloniki today, since he soon will return home. On this occasion, Ambassador Sultanovic and Consul General Miloje Pribic held talks with Panayiotis Khatzinikolaou, new Greek minister for Macedonia and Thrace.

On this occasion, the development of bilateral relations was discussed. The Yugoslav party put forward the issues of abolishing visas, cooperation in the spheres of border traffic, tourism, and waterworks, and the necessity of solving other open questions.

In the talks, it was mutually agreed that this should be the basis for achieving overall progress in relations between the two neighboring countries. On this occasion, Ambassador Vladimir Sultanovic laid flowers at the Zejtilink cemetery and paid tribute to the fallen Serbian heroes of World War I.

BORBA Commentary Surveys Political Pluralism

AU1607205589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 89 p 2

[Zdravko Huber commentary: "Postponing the Judgment Day"]

[Text] The greatest champions of Yugoslav synthesis are asking the following fatalist question more and more frequently: Is there any hope at all that divergent views such as those that exist on the Yugoslav political scene at the moment produce any real optimism about the Yugoslav future? Deciding for democratic openness and dialogue in society implies the risk of public confrontations between individual social and political groups. What is worrying in the current Yugoslav variant of political dialogue is the exclusiveness of its participants. One has the impression that the most zealous champions of individual concepts around which debate is held in Yugoslavia deem it to be their final success to have all other sides completely eliminated.

It seems that the polycentric division of power within Yugoslavia still does not give a real chance to any one of these concepts to impose itself on the entire country through the so-called relation of forces. However, it does not seem to be at all impossible for the overly exclusive and emotional participants in the Yugoslav dialogue to tear apart completely the still common arena on which the dialogue is held. The unsentimental strategists of individual politics that have already been created in the Yugoslav federation coldly say that they can only accept a certain kind of Yugoslavia; they cannot accept anything that would differ from their vision of Yugoslavia.

When one's thoughts are devoid of patriotic pathos, it may not be considered sacrilegious to say that Yugoslavia as a common state of its peoples and nationalities might not be an absolute and inviolable value with everything else subordinated to it. However, are any of the sides in this special kind of republican and national war that is being waged in Yugoslavia really ready to bear the full historical responsibility—before its own community, before the rest of the population of the still common country, and finally, before the international public—for the possible breakup of a country in the post-Helsinki Europe that deems the present state borders to be unchangeable? People who are reasonable in a political and human sense of the word certainly could not accept such responsibility.

In other words, Yugoslavia will remain our common home, not only because of ethnic connections, pretty memories, or promises we have given to one another, but because of historical reality that cannot be changed from day to day without causing serious violence. There has always been and will always be some discussion and disagreement about what that common home of ours should look like, but not a single one of those people who claim to be capable of offering a global concept for Yugoslavia should go so far in his exclusiveness as to endanger Yugoslavia itself and the possibility of having a dialogue in it.

Our times and events usually seem to us to be much more superficial and less crucial than any events and processes that now belong to history. However, it is certain that those events that are still under way will one day gain their full historical weight. It will then certainly be clear that preserving Yugoslavia—even together with these contradictions that do not make it a perfectly harmonious system—is more important than any radical solution that could call the survival of the common state into question. All those people who think that any opposition to their own programs—all of them designed to make Yugoslavia happy—mean destruction of Yugoslavia, should take that into consideration. It is clear that the other side thinks that the former ones are in fact destroyers, therefore, we have been listening to a dialogue without a synthesis for such a long time that there is a growing danger that a chaos may come instead of a synthesis.

What, therefore, is to be done? One should say that this dialogue which has been opened on the Yugoslav political scene and which the majority of participants do not carry out with a sufficient quantity of wisdom and responsibility, is, nevertheless, not fictitious. What is involved is not a banal political quarrel and not (only) a struggle for power. What is involved is a real historical problem: What is now to be done with socialism? The current generations of communists in power at any place, including Yugoslavia, do not find it easy. The road we passed, which ran along fairly clear assumptions of a doctrine that was made to serve a purpose, has been subjected to criticism from all sides. Compared with the highly developed world, socialist countries cannot boast of either too much democracy or an impressive technical and technological development....

In order to disentangle such convoluted ideological confusion that is being faced by the entire socialist bloc, including Yugoslavia, political leaders's goodwill to sit together and talk about what to do now is really not sufficient. There is indeed no new strategy of communist rule over society which would help make up for delays and preserve the aims upon which the present authorities found their legitimacy.

Some people see the way out in the technocratic modernization and in perfecting the present system based on one-party monopoly; Others are ready to introduce certain forms of pluralism in the region that is under their control—for the time being only to the level that does not endanger their position—and one can also hear the third ones, more as an intellectual and moral and less as a political power, who see the way out in a new political reintegration of Yugoslavia in which both the vertical line of the one-party monopoly and the horizontal series of bastions of territorial republican and provincial power will be undermined.

The wisdom of a statesman, if there is such a thing any more, advises that it is most reasonable to leave more time for such ideological and other concepts to ripen. The current main actors on the Yugoslav political scene will soon have different views about these concepts and the practice in politics will turn to pragmatism in the best sense of the word. The seriously damaged ship of our society will have to be patched up on many places in order to be able to continue sailing. At the same time, it is logical and necessary to make plans for a general overhaul but, of course, the ship must not sink before that.

The task of the belligerent Yugoslav political sides is in fact to make plans for a general overhaul and patch up holes, that is, to put things into a chronological order, first to patch up holes and then go for a general overhaul. The impatient designers have been persistently announcing the judgment day on which their project must be accepted or else the end of the world would follow. In the current political situation, the "early and regular" 14th congress is considered to be that judgment day. According to such expectations, that congress should establish definite and clear orientations and reject fallacies. If this really happens, many of the Yugoslav honest social beings will breathe a sigh of relief. What, however, if that does not happen—and that seems to be much closer to life and political reality? Will each one of the disagreeing designers board his own lifeboat together with his rejected project and leave the ship to sink or would they have to continue the joint trip and the unpleasant, slow, and difficult job of plotting a new socialist course?

Judging from the harshness, exclusiveness, and intolerance of the dialogue on the political scene, it seems that there are some political hotheads who would even reach for the former solution. The majority, however, will probably opt for the common ship, even if only because there is not enough room for everybody in the lifeboats.

Daily Defends Markovic's Agricultural Policy

AU1807150089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 89 p 13

[Reprint of Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE commentary by Dusan Djurovic; date not given: "Premier's Recipe"]

[Text] Has the truth finally sprouted from a wheat grain? A major dispute between the government and farmers which was started by the determination of the guaranteed purchase price for this year's crop, and which was to a great extent heated up by Ante Markovic's not so tender speeches addressing farmers at the Novi Sad fair and at the subsequent agricultural-political meeting, has ended with a result that surprised everybody. The purchasing of wheat is going according to plan, and Markovic, cheerful and smiling, is visiting Yugoslavia's wheat producing regions still claiming that the government has made the first move. Judging by the television pictures, his hosts from agro-industrial combines are taking part in this working visit without much joy, mainly because they are not satisfied with the premier's persistence in refusing to say how the government has arrived at the price for a kilo of this year's wheat.

Who is right? In the past, similar situations were resolved by producers resorting to blackmail and governments giving in to demands, and the two sides used to be regularly dissatisfied with the agreements reached in this way. The entire problem would then be forgotten until the next harvest and the new round of talks between farmers and the federal government. Meanwhile, the purchase of wheat would be conducted on the basis of a consensus price reached through the consensus economy. Because the whole thing was so "regular," local militia patrols and ramps were often used to prevent wheat leaving for other regions or republics in the unified Yugoslav market that would offer a higher price.

This year, the well-established practice was disturbed by the government's new philosophy. The government has introduced a third, the most qualified participant, into the wheat game: the market. The administrative and very often political way of making decisions about the price of wheat is now accompanied by supply and demand as the basic regulators of prices in any healthy economy. The role of the state was reduced to that of a participant who does not even have to join in the game in order for the game to finish in a regular way. What is this all about? The prices that were determined before the beginning of the harvest do not bind anybody to apply them strictly. The purchase of wheat was therefore reduced to free bargaining between those who grow and those who process wheat, except that now both parties have to make sure that the free market along with competition confirm the value of their product. If a problem occurs and wheat does not find a buyer, the state would step in with its funds already set aside, and buy up the whole amount of wheat left over at the price that had already been set and published.

All this demonstrates the confidence and resoluteness with which Premier Markovic addresses all the participants in this year's process of purchasing wheat, letting them know that their fate is in their own hands, and that they will receive all the help the government has announced in order to help agriculture finally recover. Until this is done, it would not be a bad thing to recall once again Markovic's words at the Novi Sad fair: "Nobody in the world can live only by producing wheat.

About 2 months of intensive work on the production of wheat cannot finance the costs that have been accumulated throughout the year." With this kind of approach to production, the price of a loaf of bread this fall should not be as frightening as has been announced. The only question is when will the premier's recipe "reach" all those who are making this year's bread.

DELO Commentary Responds to Mandic Article

AU1807161389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Jul 89 p 2

[Boris Jez commentary: "Tank Arguments"]

[Text] It was to be expected that the bloody suppression of the "counterrevolution" in Beijing's Tiananmen Square would sooner or later also have its repercussions on the Yugoslav ideological front, but nobody envisaged that this would happen so soon. It is only 1 and ½ months since the horrible slaughter of the students, and the secretary of the Ideological Commission of the Serbian Central Committee is already brandishing tanks in our face; he says we do not have tanks merely to deal with external aggression, but also to deal with internal counterrevolution. Is this some kind of an explanation of Milosevic's statement at Gazi Mestan to the effect that we will fight with arms if necessary?

Petar B. Mandic, secretary of the said commission, would send in the tanks against Slovene "revisionists who would like to push the principle of democratic centralism out of the LCY in the name of party democratization." In his polemical article in BORBA, Mandic first warns that this is revisionism a la Bernstein and Kautsky, and then he says that in a society stratified in terms of interests and social structure, like ours, a consensus form of decisionmaking cannot replace democratic centralism. The Serbian ideologist reproaches the Slovene Communists for wanting the development of democracy without the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which is the last link in the unity of Yugoslavia. If the extraordinary congress is faced with schism, a consistent "ideopolitical differentiation" will have to be carried out; if the LCY and Yugoslavia may exist without the Slovenes, they should go their way, but if the two decide that the departure of the Slovenes would endanger their integrity, they must not hesitate. The revolution has the right to defend itself against the counterrevolution, and Mandic says that any act that leads to the breaking up of the LCY and Yugoslavia is counterrevolution.

Considering that the Serbian party ideologist is even juggling with "tank arguments," it is not at all strange that in his clash with the Slovene Communists he even uses the ammunition from the times of the Second International. On the threshold of the 21st century, nobody but Kim Il-song, Li Peng, and Ramiz Alia dares to use the word revisionism so vehemently. But it is obviously irreplaceable in Mandic's ideological vocabulary, because he looks at the relations in a multinational or even "multi-state" Yugoslavia through Comintern glasses: Any disagreement with the center is simply revisionism.

Mandic will probably never understand that the LCY cannot be organized like the Comintern, and that its internal links are giving way for the same or similar reasons that have led to the dissolution of international communist organizations. If it is, so to say, the official Yugoslav position that each people should be granted the right to their own way to socialism, the same principle should of course apply to the Yugoslav situation, too. The insistence on a supranational party organization and a single kind of socialism for all, from Kosovo to Slovenia, is nothing but a negation of the principles of sovereignty, self-determination, and so forth. Ultimately, it is also a matter of insistence on a party state at the expense of a law-governed state; if everything can be arranged at the extraordinary congress, why do Mandic and those who think alike need elections, the assembly system, the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, and so forth? Why should the "wrecking" of the LCY lead to a breakup of Yugoslavia? Is it because the party actually constitutes the state, and the assembly, officials, and uniforms are here to implement its decisions?

It does seem that Mandic is not really concerned about the noble ideals of a unified LCY and unified Yugoslavia, for he would first let the Slovenes go, and only if it were shown that this would harm Yugoslavia would the whole thing be proclaimed counterrevolution. There seems to be no point in wasting words about his "respect" for the principles of the law-governed state, which include the constitutional right of the people to self-determination (including the possibility of secession). However, one should ponder his assertion that any act that leads to the breakup of the LCY and Yugoslavia is counterrevolution. Strange, we were not taught in school that the goal of the revolution would be a state and a party, but we were told about social liberation, national emancipation, and so forth. It seems it is true that revolution not only eats its own children, but also its ideals. Is it true that Mandic and the like have nothing left but the tanks with which they can crush ever new generations of "counterrevolutionaries," "revisionists," and "dissidents"?